

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

**Call It What You Will: Conference,
Conciliation, or Appeasement,**

PEACE CAN COME ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATION

**The War of Nerves is Bad;
Open Conflict is Worse;
Both Are Futile!**

says the Rev. LEYTON RICHARDS

THE war is on; but so far it is what has been called a "war of nerves." How long it will be before someone's nerves suddenly snap under the strain of prolonged crisis. Who can say?

There is the real danger of the present situation.

One even hears normally sensible and intelligent people say, "Better have the threatened war and be done with it than this nerve-racking tension for ever!" But that is the voice of hysteria, and it takes no account of the fact that, once embarked upon a war, we should not "be done with it" any more than we have done with the war-to-end-war of 1914-18.

Like that war, it would leave its entail of hate and fear and revenge, and the generation succeeding ours (if any of it survived!) would be faced with the same demand for still another war to put wrongs to right; and so on *ad infinitum*.

Way of Realism

Sober reflection tells us that there is no way out along that line. Which means that the pacifist is the only realist when he maintains that the entail of violence can only be cut by substituting the appeal to reason for the appeal to force.

It is true that the pacifist is held up to scorn and his faith dismissed as childishness when he pleads for peace by negotiation; but at least it is obvious that the worldly wisdom which passes for statesmanship today has not made a conspicuous success of any alternative policy; or why this fevered and frenzied preparation for another war to undo the ills imposed upon mankind by the last war?

Somehow, therefore, we must reverse the disastrous trend of the present time and translate pacifist principles into practical politics; for there is no other exit from the fatal circle of continually increasing violence.

Laugh at It!

I sometimes wonder whether we do not take the pretensions of statesmanship too seriously. To argue with it is to pay it the compliment which we rightly pay to any rational proceeding.

But nine-tenths of its reactions are born of traditional and out-of-date prejudice; it thinks of the world, for instance, in terms of mutually antagonistic national compartments, each endowed with that mystic quality which is called sovereignty; whereas in fact the world is an interdependent unit, and its political organization ought to be accommodated to that fact by

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Editorial

by Andrew Stewart

"The Link" and All That

THE controversy over the finance and activities of the organization known as The Link, which has been given remarkable prominence in the daily Press, must be of more than ordinary interest to members of the Peace Pledge Union.

For it is only a few weeks since, in a memorandum issued by the Economic League, the PPU was accused of pro-Nazi propaganda, because of references to The Link in the *Peace Service Handbook*.

The rebuttal of the League's accusations, by Stuart Morris, in our issue of July 21, needs no repetition; nor can it be invalidated by any evidence which may establish that The Link is at least partly financed by the German Ministry of Propaganda.

It would not distress me in the slightest if proof of this kind were forthcoming.

If there is to be Nazi propaganda in this country—and I cannot for the life of me see why not—it is surely advisable that it be official.

However, if The Link were proved conclusively to be an agency of Dr. Goebbels I think that those members of the PPU who continued to belong to it would be well advised to give some serious thought to the implications of their Peace Pledge, and the same advice seems to be desirable for those who think that membership of British Union, Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascist organization, is compatible with membership of the PPU.

Speaking personally, I think it is impossible to be a Fascist and a Pacifist at the same time. Folk who think differently I regard as muddle-headed; but I am disposed to be tolerant to them, for I cannot assume the responsibility of being the keeper of their consciences.

Pacifism and Fascism

THE word Pacifist is used currently in two rather different meanings: generally, to describe those who will not fight or in any way participate in preparations for war; and, as in the writings of Max Plowman, Middleton Murry and Aldous Huxley, to describe those who subscribe to a certain all-embracing philosophy of life. I suggest that measured by any of these meanings Fascism must be rejected.

Fascism must be repugnant to the simple war-resister because Fascism is totalitarian, and totalitarianism is indispensable for the conduct of modern war; because Fascism glorifies militarism and war; and because Fascist dreams of dominion keep the world constantly apprehensive of war.

Fascism must be repugnant to the pacifist-philosopher because it rejects his principles in favour of others that are incompatible with them. Where he stands for the integrity of each individual, the Fascist demands that individual personality be subjugated to some weird mass-personality called the State. Where the pacifist abjures violence in his relations with his fellows, the Fascist asserts the superior virtue of the strong. While for the pacifist all men are bound by spiritual unity and equality, for the Fascist there are Superior Races and Chosen Peoples.

(Continued on back page)

A Quarter of a Century Ago



A week ago, on August 4, people all over the world reflected grimly on the quarter century that has passed since the outbreak of the Great War. Typical of liberal newspaper comment was the above cartoon in the Dutch "Telegraaf."

The caption reads: "Death and the Devil: Then we had OUR way!"

A Pacifist Commentary

The Bomber Will Still Get Through . . . Choice for the Democracies . . . Basis of British Policy . . . An Autumn Election?

By "Observer"

LORD BALDWIN'S assertion that the bomber will always get through has been forgotten of late. Instead we are assured of the efficiency of our air defences.

But Air Vice-Marshal W. Sholto Douglas, speaking at Chichester on Friday (August 4—significant anniversary!) practically repeated Lord Baldwin's statement. He said: "...of course, we do not pretend that we will be able to stop every bomber that puts out to attack this country from reaching its objective. In fact it is probable that a fairly high proportion will get through, particularly when the weather conditions are favourable to the bomber. The object, however, of the fighter organization is not, as it were, to put an impenetrable barrier between the enemy bomber and its target. This is impossible of attainment. The object is to cause so heavy a casualty rate to the enemy bombing forces that they will be compelled to restrict the scale of their attack on account of the heavy casualties and the difficulty of replacing those casualties."

Air Vice-Marshal W. Sholto Douglas ought to know. He might well have added that, in any case, Britain is building many more bombing planes than fighters, so that even if bombers do get through to bomb Britain, we can try (as Lord Baldwin said) to kill more of the enemy's women and children more quickly than they can kill ours.

There you have the reality of modern war; small wonder that men and women are refusing in growing numbers to have anything to do with such an inhuman method of settling disputes.

Contrast

THE Pan-American Airways' flying-boat, American Clipper, reached Southampton last Sunday after leaving New York only a trifle over twenty-four hours previously.

When she was half-way across the Atlantic (which was actually crossed in eleven-and-a-half hours) the Caribou, the Imperial Airways' flying-boat, was passed while on the way to New York inaugurating the British airmail to the United States.

Performances of this character are far more likely to impress upon the world the advantages of peace than mass flights of bombers are, say over France, of their security against war.

There is little doubt that the progress of aviation in the next ten or twenty years will be more rapid than it has been over a corresponding period in the past. I hope it will not owe its acceleration to the preparation for war.

Instance after instance of the usefulness of aircraft in peaceful work could be enumerated. May they always be used for such utilitarian ends.

Tension Eased

THE Danzig situation looks as if it has been markedly relaxed this week.

Herr Förster, the Nazi leader in Danzig, has been on a visit to Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden and what his new instructions may be are purely a matter of speculation at the time of writing. But one thing is certain, and that is that the Danzig Senate has been willing to waive the order withdrawing the Polish Customs' inspectors made by the Danzig Customs office, after

representations made by the Polish Government.

This is all to the good, and is a distinct improvement upon recent relations.

I am convinced that the problems causing the tension are not a sufficient cause for war. They are certainly hedged with a hundred-and-one difficulties but, given the right atmosphere, they are undoubtedly well capable of solution. Let us hope this is the beginning of a more friendly respect between the parties to the dispute and that in the end common sense will prevail and the whole issue be amicably settled.

"The Fatherland"

MARSHAL SMIGLY-RYDZ, Inspector-General of the Polish armed forces, addressing 100,000 former Polish legionaries in Cracow last Sunday, made a speech which is typical of many others these days.

He said that the life of every man was bound up with the life of the Fatherland. If his country was dishonoured, every man was dishonoured. Violence against one's country, the Marshal went on, could not be repulsed by a sense of justice, by services for humanity or by services for civilization.

"Violence," he thought, "could only be met by violence"; the strength of a country rested in its soldiers, and "a country must therefore have soldiers who are ready to fight and give their lives for it."

Perhaps some readers may think such remarks come only from abroad, but this is not so; equally unqualified statements—with an absolute disregard of factual history—are being made in this country by men whose utterances at one time carried some authority and weight.

Listen to what Viscount Samuel had to say when speaking at the Liberal Summer School, last Saturday: "Because a man's conscience tells him that this or that is the right thing to do, it does not follow that it is the right thing. Conscience may err."

Viscount Samuel was discussing the question of conscription, and he considered that as two percent (roughly 4,000) of the first batch of the Militia claimed exemption as conscientious objectors, then "it would be equally right for the others."

We hope the tenor of his speech does not reflect in any way the real trend of Liberal opinion in this country.

The Choice

PACIFISTS naturally do not deny the right of conscientious objection to anyone. When Lord Samuel carried his argument to its logical conclusion and said it would mean that "the great democracies would therefore be obliged to disband all their armed forces," he doubtless intended to make conscientious objection look ridiculous.

But, in fact, he was posing the real choice democracies must make. They must either prepare to meet violence with violence, in which case they must inevitably adopt totalitarianism, or they must disarm and adopt policies of good will towards all other nations. There is no half-way house.

Our "Interests"

THE Prime Minister made a speech in the House of Commons last Friday on the Far East.

He did nothing to ease the impasse there or to enhance British prestige, for he said "we should endeavour in continuing the negotiations in the Far East to preserve to the utmost extent the principles which had hitherto governed our conduct there." We should, he asserted, "preserve to the utmost possible extent the interests and the fortunes of British subjects there."

This would appear to crystallize the very

basis of British foreign policy. There is seldom any thought paid to the moral aspects of a case. The humanitarian consideration is almost completely disregarded. The primary weight which influences the British scales of justice as to whether or not decisive action is called for are, as a rule, "the interests and the fortunes of British subjects."

International respect and good-will will not be engendered in this way. Surely it is time for British statesmanship to break away from this, the traditional attitude, and strike a note of high resolution to lead the world into a more enlightened conception of international relationships?

The painter of imperialism must be cut quickly, otherwise it will drag this country into very perilous waters indeed. Imbued with a new spirit and a higher purpose, it might do much to consolidate the framework of a world which knows no frontiers, but as it is, it is only a source of adding to the "fortunes" of the few.

General Election Soon?

A LEADING article in Saturday's *Times*, declaring that "failing some stupendous crisis," the sooner a general election comes the better, seems to confirm the rumours of an election in the autumn.

"The present House has a year to run at the utmost," said *The Times*, "and all the precedents suggest that it is unwise to cut the margin too fine."

A Good Sign

THE Governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have decided to make equal annual grants to the London School of Economics and Political Science, for a period of three years. This is in order to promote teaching and research at the school on the social and economic conditions of the four northern countries.

It is hoped, a University correspondent writes, that this gift may result in increased contacts among the economists and students of the social sciences belonging to the four countries concerned, and a wider and deeper understanding of the conditions and problems of them by people in this country, both within and without the universities.

Gestures of this nature are always to the good, but particularly so today when international tension is so intense and many people are questioning even the possibility of the world ever reverting to a state of affairs approaching sanity.

Every indication of this type should be welcomed because it does show, even if only in a limited way, that there is yet a body of influential opinion that places faith in the ability of mankind eventually to overcome the problems which are alleged to be so contentious that only by force can they be controlled.

Need in Palestine

A MESSAGE from Jerusalem announces the release from detention during the last fortnight of some five hundred persons.

It is good to learn this; I hope that the Government will soon call the two main parties together and make another attempt at improving general conditions in Palestine. There would seem to be few signs that the British Government has been doing anything in recent weeks to compose the differences; and the longer the matter is left in abeyance the more likely is the gulf between the Government and the Arab and Jewish interests to widen.

I believe that if the responsible Arab and Jewish leaders were to meet soon they would find it was possible to work out a satisfactory compromise. The chief stumbling block to an amicable arrangement at the moment, I believe from reliable information available, is that the

Colonial Office is trying to drive too hard a bargain.

The sore has been open too long to be healthy. The sooner remedial measures are taken to heal it the better for all concerned.

Lesson from Spain

THE Falange in Spain has been re-organized and, as *The Times* says, "it is now definitely the one and only party . . . and, redefining in unmistakable terms the totalitarian trend of its doctrine, has embarked the new State on the authoritarian path."

Already instances of the vindictiveness of the new régime are noticed. One agency message declares that last weekend over one thousand people were arrested in ten communities, and fifty-eight men and two women were executed for the alleged murder of a General, his daughter and chauffeur.

Revenge and cruelty on this scale will not help to revive the spirit of this war-ravaged country. That authority secured by force has to be held by force is obviously the deduction from this news.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

YOUNG QUAKERS WORK IN PEACE CAMP

A GROUP of young Friends have just spent a fortnight at a Peace Camp near Truro, Cornwall, sponsored by the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends. A similar venture began in Essex last week.

Each evening they held a public open-air meeting in surrounding villages and towns. Speaking generally lasted about an hour; then listeners were encouraged to discuss matters informally.

The object of the camp was not so much to spread the specific gospel of pacifism, but rather (to use an old Quaker phrase) to publish the truth. Speakers dealt with Quakerism and its attitude to war, as well as with the political implications of their faith.

Nevertheless, the campers took the pacifist message to places where it has not been heard before.

More Refugees Saved

DURING July the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends has been instrumental in obtaining 208 British visas for German refugees. These covered approximately 285 individuals, including 18 children.

During this period over 20 refugees have notified the Committee of their arrival in this country.

Forty-three refugees have been emigrated by the Committee during July, ten direct from Germany. Of the others, 26 had been for some time in this country and seven in France. They emigrated to 12 countries, the largest number (21) going to Australia.

Into The Fire

"I WENT up the Tigris with 100 Devon Territorials, young, clean, delightful fellows, full of the power of happiness and of making women and children glad."

By them one saw vividly how great it was to be their kin, and English.

And we were casting them by thousands into the fire; to the worst of deaths, not to win war but that the corn and rice and oil of Mesopotamia might be ours.

—Lawrence of Arabia, a collection of whose writings is published in *Oriental Assembly* (Williams and Norgate, 10s. 6d.).

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A World in the Melting Pot: Danish War Resister Sums It Up

HAVES versus ★ DEMOCRACY v.
HAVE-NOTS ★ DICTATORSHIP

Pacifism the only Solution To Two Pressing Problems

By Haghard Jonassen

WE are living in a time when world history is being made. Great events have happened and still greater, perhaps, will come. All the big Powers seem to be preparing for a fight for the abundance in the world.

Not a fight for the equal right of all to the goods of the world, but a fight over who is going to own the key to these goods and, with that, the power to open or close the door.

It is not a fight for democracy against dictatorship. The so-called democratic Great Powers today are the owners and they are fighting for their possessions, which they got by violence and plunder.

But they are trying to give the fight a more pleasant appearance and it is called a fight for democratic ideals. As supporters they are now busy trying to engage the dictator countries, Soviet Russia and Turkey, and at the same time they are taking steps at home which reduce the democratic rights which they are said to defend!

They are trying to form a "Peace Front" against the "aggressor nations," Germany and Italy.

Is it right to say that these countries are a menace to world peace? Certainly—if world peace means preservation of the situation in the world formed after the Great War. It would be more correct to say that these countries are a menace to the existing world order.

Crux of the Crisis

Pacifists never can accept this order and believe that it is just one of the forces which are driving the world to the great explosion. Those who have want to keep what they have, and those who have not are determined to have something. That's the central point in the situation which, before we know where we are, may bring a war which will leave at least Europe in ruins.

It is clear from what I have said above that pacifists do not believe that problems can be solved by giving the totalitarian States some colonies. On the other hand, we do not believe that a war can solve anything. Problems can only be solved by securing for all free and equal right to the goods of the world.

Does anybody believe that this end can be reached through a war? After a war the problems will still be there.

Use the Respite

An earnest attempt to find a way out has never been tried. I do not believe in the way of Mr. Chamberlain. He has not been willing to give anything, but when the totalitarian States show the fist he throws a bit—not belonging to him—to them; and they get the feeling that they can get what they want by the help of force. In that way I think his policy has made the danger greater.

On the other hand, it has given the world a respite which ought to be used by the great democratic Powers, not for rearmament but to make a gesture to indicate that what they want is not to keep their possessions but to share.

It is a most important duty for pacifists to point again and again to the way out of the difficulties.

Defending Democracy

But, despite these difficulties, we ought not to forget that a mortal combat is going on between dictatorship and democracy, as political ideas.

However much we complain of encroachments on our freedom—and we ought to do

it and fight against it to keep democracy—ours is a paradise compared with that of our fellow men in the totalitarian countries. People who have had an opportunity to glimpse conditions in these countries are terrified and shocked to the depths of their souls by seeing how brutality and inhumanity prevails.

In the fight between views of life we shall have to use all our strength for the democratic ideas, but we cannot use any means.

Afraid of the prospect of seeing the unworthy conditions of dictatorship realized in their own country, many people are ready to use arms. We can understand that but we are convinced that it means treason to the democratic aim, it means an approval of violence, which is the true nature of dictatorship.

Our Job

Rejecting violence in the fight against dictatorship it is necessary for us to be aware of the great responsibility we have placed upon ourselves. Perhaps it means that dictatorship will spread temporarily. We shall have to be ready to keep our ideas during the hardest conditions.

Nobody knows what the future will bring. There may be days when it looks as if our ideas are doomed and when it means the greatest risk to hold them.

But the world needs our ideas. Sooner or later it is necessary for mankind to build a community where all live in peace and where all have the same right to live.

We do not know if we shall live to see this day or if, during a time of darkness, we shall keep our faith. Our fate will depend upon the way in which events develop. But we also believe that the future depends upon our ideas being kept alive.

Hongkong Adopts Compulsory Service

"HONGKONG has the distinction of being the first part of the British Empire to follow the lead of the United Kingdom in introducing 'conscription'."

So declared the *Hongkong Telegraph* in announcing the local Government's decision to legislate for compulsory service.

"This decision is not the result of any worsening of the international situation, nor is it due to sudden scare," continued the announcement. "It is the logical next step, following the recent registration of British subjects."

PROVISION FOR OBJECTORS

The Bill, which has been approved by the British Government, requires able-bodied British subjects to join the Volunteers and Naval Volunteers as reservists.

"Those who express a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service," states the Bill, "will not, without their consent, be posted to the combatant group of the Reserve."

When Danzig Sought a Ruler

From the *Morning Post*, August 5, 1789:

The fate of DANZIG is singular. That City has actually been petitioning for a MASTER among all the neighbouring powers; but though she has been put into a situation in which she must and does serve, she cannot find any Prince that will take upon him the NAME of SOVEREIGN of DANZIG. The City was under the protection of Poland, whilst that kingdom was able to protect itself; but of late years the dominion of Poland over Danzig has been merely nominal.

The King of Prussia has erected Custom-houses in its neighbourhood, and drawn lines round it, which render them absolutely dependent upon him; but still he refuses to take upon himself the NAME of SOVEREIGN of DANZIG, lest he should be taxed with ambition, and give umbrage to other powers; and indeed such a step on his part would be totally unnecessary, as he already derives as much benefit from the actual situation of that City, as if he was the ACKNOWLEDGED MASTER of it.

Now read below:

What Lloyd George Said About Danzig Fourteen Years Ago

THERE is apprehension in Europe today because Germany lays claim to Danzig. Some people urge that we should risk a general war to prevent her from acquiring it.

But it is forgotten that Poland herself annexed many stretches of territory in defiance of the wishes of the inhabitants and of other nations. Fourteen years ago Poland's action was described by Mr. Lloyd George as "the real menace to European peace."

Mr. Lloyd George's speech, delivered in Parliament on March 24, 1925, is valuable as a reminder of the impossibility of drawing up "just" frontiers. We therefore print extracts from that speech below as a corrective to speeches being made today which suggest that we must be ready for war to defend the present state of affairs.

THE Eastern frontiers [said Mr. Lloyd George] are throbbing with trouble from the Bosphorus to the Baltic. Every European frontier is marked in red, but the frontiers of Central and Eastern Europe are a deeper red than any.

There is none of these borderlines that has not been fought over for centuries. There is not a tract of territory in regard to which any country cannot claim precedents for saying that it belonged to them at one time, and there have been conquests and reconquests.

There is a tangle of races and a general inextricable mix-up, as anyone knows who has ever been trying to decide whether a particular territory ought to belong to Czechoslovakia or Poland, or Hungary or Rumania or Yugoslavia.

There you have questions of racial pride and racial and religious antagonism. There is no mix-up of races, records, and religions like it outside Gehenna.

That is the position of Eastern Europe...

Poland's Annexations

The worst of all is Poland. Poland is sad, because the Geneva Protocol has not been recognized by Britain, and she also is claiming a moral triumph.

What has happened there? Alsace-Lorraine provoked a war in Europe. Poland has five Alsace Lorraines—Eastern Galicia, White Russia, Vilna, the Corridor, Silesia—she is not satisfied and she now wants to add a sixth, Danzig.

That is exactly the way she annexed the other places. She is annexing them now by pillar-boxes. That is the beginning...

Do you [the Government] deny that Poland annexed Vilna in spite of the protests of the League of Nations, annexed Galicia in spite of the protests of the Supreme Council, that she has annexed part of White Russia, where the majority of the population is Russian, beyond the ethnographical line drawn by the Supreme Council?

Do you say the decision in Upper Silesia is one which you would be prepared to go to war in order to maintain? I should like to know which of these statements you are challenging.

With regard to Danzig, you know perfectly well that Poland is persisting with regard to the Post Office policy in spite of the ruling of the British Commissioner who represents the League of Nations, and it has now been referred again for consideration. But she did not accept the decision...

We are bound, if we sign the Protocol, to use our strength for the purpose of

END OF THE DOUKHOBORS?

THE Doukhobors, a non-violent religious sect practising a form of Christian communism, which migrated from Russia to Canada some forty years ago, are said to be breaking up.

A report in *The Christian Science Monitor* declares that the leader of the sect died in March and that a younger generation within the brotherhood has shown dissatisfaction with its communal ideas.

A message left by the leader, said to have contained a complete reversal of former communal ideals, has also played its part in the disintegration. It also advised the Doukhobors not to call their new leader from Russia.

Pacifist Sect in Brazil

Fresh light is thrown on the movements of the Hutterians, another sect persecuted for refusing military service, in an article in *The Plough* (quarterly journal of the Society of Brothers in England).

According to Toyohiko Kagawa, the well-known Japanese missionary, who is quoted in this article, the Hutterians fled to Brazil, where they are said to have been "amazingly successful in re-creating their Christian brotherhood in the new land."

making war. Is that really what we want? It is just a variant upon the policy which the French, one Government after another, have pressed upon us—an attempt to engage us with the whole of our strength in supporting the *status quo* not merely upon the West but upon the East as well...

"The Real Menace"

A free hand has been given to Poland. What is the result? This is the real menace to European peace. It is no use shutting our eyes to this fact.

The real menace to European peace is the fact that out of 27,000,000 people in Poland, 9,000,000 are there by force of arms—Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Germans—most of them there in spite of the protest of the League of Nations and of the Supreme Council.

Does anyone imagine that that is going to be accepted by Russia and by Germany once they are restored in power? And when that moment comes, what is our position?

I do hope that whatever happens in the way of arbitration, we are not going to base arbitration upon those explosive treaties in the East of Europe, and the acceptance of those annexations, which would be fatal...

Flouting the League

You want to restore confidence in the League.

Take Vilna. The League of Nations says, "You must not go to Vilna." The Poles sent 20,000 troops there. They say, "We are not responsible for them. They went against our will. They annexed Vilna." And it has now been accepted by the Council of Ambassadors.

As to Galicia the Supreme Council said to Poland, "You must not go to Galicia and annex these 4,000,000 of Ukrainians." The Poles went along under a French General and nothing happened. The Supreme Council stopped Galicia's army that was approaching.

The Poles went on and marched, and, when a telegram was sent to the General, he said he had not received it. Afterwards, he said, "I have lost my code, and I do not know what your telegram means."

Meanwhile the army advanced, and Galicia was conquered.

You really cannot expect Germany and Russia to have confidence in a body which at the present moment is dominated in that way...

A Barrister-at-Law examines The First Tribunal

WHILE no doubt the conscientious objectors who appeared before the tribunal at Birmingham were dealt with civilly and courteously it seems evident that the policy of the tribunal was that of refusing absolute exemption and granting conditional exemptions only.

In the reports which I have seen the tribunal seems to have been more concerned with finding out if the work the applicant was at present performing was of national importance than with trying to understand the nature of the individual objection which, after all, is its main function.

The question of the applicant's occupation is germane only if his objection is found to be directed against undergoing military training or if the tribunal is satisfied that, whatever the ground of the objection is stated to be, that is the real objection. If, then, the applicant appears to the tribunal to be doing work of national importance it is competent for the tribunal to make an order that the applicant be conditionally registered in the register of COs and direct that he be exempt from liability to undergo the six months' training required under subsection 8 of section 3 of the Act.

That is all the tribunal has got to do. For the Act says that "a person so exempted shall be deemed to comply with the requirements of this subsection so long as he engages in, and performs, that class of work." But that has nothing to do with the tribunal, whose business is to decide whether the applicant is to be unconditionally or conditionally registered as provided by subsection 7.

"Misconceived" Orders

The fact that an applicant is engaged in work of national importance is not a ground of exemption from military service but a ground of exemption from the liability to undergo six months' training required under section 3 (8), which is rather a different matter. The orders which the Birmingham tribunal has made are misconceived.

There is another point which arises out of the proceedings at Birmingham. Applicants are asked to specify the ground of their application in the following form as laid down in the Act (and these were set out in the form on which the application was made to the tribunal):

- (a) to being registered in the military training register, or
- (b) to undergoing military training, or
- (c) to performing combatant duties,

and the applicant was asked to strike out whichever ground was inapplicable in his case.

You have to ask yourself then on which ground you are basing your application to the tribunal, and if the tribunal "is satisfied that the ground upon which the application was made is established" it shall make one of three possible orders.

If, therefore, a person applies on ground (a) above and the tribunal is satisfied that he is honest and genuine in his objection and that his objection goes beyond the question of military training under the Act it is clearly the duty of the tribunal as laid down by law in those circumstances to grant absolute exemption, i.e., to direct "that he shall without conditions be finally registered in the register of conscientious objectors."

Claim to Liberty

The Birmingham tribunal seems to have assumed that because a person is already engaged in some work which is regarded as of national importance it is a recognition of an applicant's willingness to undertake such work if ordered to do so. And the tribunal has fastened that assumption on to other COs, less fortunate in these unhappy times in the choice of their avocations, and by a strange and quite arbitrary method of reasoning has come to the conclusion that such applicants as are not in work of national importance must go into "concentration camps" for training.

It does not seem to have dawned upon the minds of the members of the Birmingham tribunal that part of the objection is to the denial of individual liberty which conscription necessarily involves. It appears that although the pacifist is not to be embarrassed in regard to his war re-

"What has been done savours of persecution.."

sistance his claim to liberty of action and conduct is not to be recognized. The right to liberty as a part of the pacifist cause, and a fundamental part of it, must be insisted upon in the tribunals. The pacifist or the objector when he appears before the tribunal is not objecting to taking part in war but to undergoing training in readiness for a war to which he objects and in which he will take no part. Therefore, it is not a question merely of the genuineness of his pacifism but of the extent of his objection to the demands made upon him by the present Act.

The tribunals must realize that the objector is entitled to absolute exemption if he claims it and it appear to the tribunal that his objection honestly goes to the extent which justifies him in claiming it. The tribunal has no right to order an applicant to do work of national importance unless it is satisfied not only that he is honest in his objection but that such an order meets his individual application or objection. The tribunal has no discretion as to which order it is to make, for the appropriate order must necessarily follow the finding of fact as to the nature, extent and honesty of the particular objection.

The cases of Judd and Shears before the Birmingham tribunal are notorious. It is obvious on the reports that these men were entitled to unconditional registration, unless, of course, they were disbelieved as regards the ground of their application, which does not appear to have been the case. Both said, and Shears very emphatically so, that they were not prepared to undergo training for work of national importance. Nevertheless, for no declared reason, they were only conditionally exempted.

Persecution Alleged

In Shears' case it means that he will have to go to a training camp which was precisely what he was objecting to and from which he wanted to be exempted! And when he objected to the order made the chairman, a very respected and able lawyer and judge, retorted that it was no concern of theirs. But it is their concern as members of the tribunal and their chief concern if it is their intention to administer the Act. For it is a gross dereliction of duty in the tribunal if it is going to force young men to undergo training under the Act to which they object quite as strongly as to military training because to a large number of pacifists it is politically and morally indistinguishable.

Moreover, what has been done savours of persecution. The order which the tribunal makes in such cases is one which obtains for twelve months only. If the objector is already in approved work and ordered for that reason to be exempt from undergoing training and he continues in it for at most twelve months he becomes registered finally and unconditionally in the register of COs.

If, on the other hand, he is ordered to undergo training in approved work, whether he is called up for such training by the Minister or not, at the end of twelve months from the date of the order of the tribunal he becomes automatically registered finally and unconditionally in the register of COs. Once the requirements of section 3 (8) have been met the objector is absolutely free from the burden of any obligation of any kind under the Act. I think that it is worth noting as an example of the delight which statesmen take in putting people they do not like to meaningless inconveniences. It becomes all the more necessary, therefore, to resist any attempt of a judicial character to take away liberties and rights which the law itself establishes.

Rights of Appeal

One must not, however, be blind to the subtleties of statesmanship (sic). The danger of submissively accepting the orders I have been discussing for training for approved work is that if and when war breaks out these categories will find a place in the war measure which will provide for work of national importance to be undertaken as an alternative to military service. And probably the present Act will be the preamble to that measure in order to preserve and utilize the available categories.

It will be extremely difficult in those circumstances for those who have been given and who accepted conditional exemption to refuse to serve in such work as may be demanded of them.

Of course, one can plead change of circumstances as no doubt Mr. Chamberlain would do if it were a matter affecting his own political convenience. But it must be recognized that that would be a lame plea since we know now that the present Act is just the preface to the volume of war requirements. I would note, in conclusion, how necessary it is for objectors to exercise their rights of appeal against any decision which does not fully meet their case.

Waning Enthusiasm?

At a meeting of the General Purposes Sub-Committee of the City and County of London National Service Committee on July 18 it was stated that since last September statistical figures show that there has been a falling off of A.R.P. workers of over 87,000.

Local Tribunals Appointed

NAMES of the members of local tribunals for conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act were given by Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, in the House of Commons last Thursday.

Of the 15 tribunals nine have been fully constituted. Following is the list:—

East Anglia: Judge Campbell (chairman), Mr. J. H. Clapham, the Earl of Cranbrook, Mr. W. H. Holmes and Mr. R. Skinner.

Midlands: Judge Longson (chairman), Mr. A. H. Gibbard, Mr. George Trevelyan Lee, Councillor E. Purser and Professor J. G. Smith.

South-Eastern: Judge David Davies (chairman), Sir Charles Grey, Sir Reginald Kennedy Cox, Dr. G. Senter, Mr. F. G. Wither.

South-Western: Judge Wethered (chairman), Dr. C. Bailey, Mr. C. P. Brown, Mr. A. L. Hobhouse, Alderman F. Sheppard.

North Wales: Judge Sir Thomas Artemus Jones (chairman), Alderman T. Lloyd Williams, Councillor R. Owen, Mr. Hugh Parry, Alderman H. R. Thomas.

South Wales: Judge Frank Davies (chairman), Mr. James Evans, Mr. O. Harris, Sir L. Twiston-Davies and Mr. J. H. Williams.

Northern Counties of Scotland: Mr. Robert H. Maconachie (chairman), Mr. P. Campbell, Provost Hugh Mackenzie, Dr. G. G. Middleton, Mr. F. O. Stuart.

North-Eastern Counties of Scotland: Sir George Morton (chairman), Mr. G. Duncan, Principal W. Hamilton Fyfe, Mr. G. R. McIntosh, Sir Russell Scott.

South-Eastern Counties of Scotland: Mr. C. H. Brown (chairman), Mr. W. H. Buist, Mr. A. B. Clarke, Professor V. H. Galbraith, Mr. E. M. Wedderburn.

The following local tribunals have not yet been constituted:—

Cumberland and Westmorland: Judge Peel (chairman), Mr. Frank A. Carr, Mr. Charles H. Roberts, Mr. A. Stephenson (one vacancy).

London: Judge Hargreaves (chairman), Sir James Baillie, Sir Edmund B. Phipps, Mr. A. P. Swales (one vacancy).

North-Eastern: Judge Stewart (chairman), Mr. E. C. Behrens, Mr. W. H. Dodgson (two vacancies).

North-Western: Judge Burgis (chairman), Mr. Lawrence D. Holt, Mr. A. Roberts (two vacancies).

Northumberland and Durham: Judge Richardson (chairman), Professor James F. Duff, Sir Luke Thompson, Mr. W. Westwood (one vacancy).

South-Western Counties of Scotland: Sir Archibald Campbell Black (chairman), Sir Robert Bruce, Professor J. J. Craik Henderson, Mr. W. Lorimer (one vacancy).

A complete list of the Advisory Bureau for COs now set up all over the country will appear in "Peace News" next week.

A Catholic C.O. States His Case

The following examination of the Roman Catholic attitude to war is by a Catholic, who is a conscientious objector under the Military Training Act. As such he will shortly be called before the Tribunal.

★

THE Catholic Church allows a Catholic to fight in a just war, and many Catholics think that the matter ends there, and let themselves become cogs in the wheels of the war machine.

The greatest doctrine of the Church is the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ... "Neither Jew nor Greek... all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. III, 28). Christ is the Head of the Mystical Body and He suffers with His suffering members.

With this doctrine in mind, "What can we say when war is a deadly struggle of Christian against Christian, of member against member?" (Father Stratmann, O.P.)

"Why," says Clement of Rome, "is there strife and anger, and disunion and war among you? Have we not one God, one Christ? Why do the Members of Christ tear one another, why do we rise up against our own body in such madness; have we forgotten that we are all members of one another?"

War means the killing of baptised men, which in itself is a sin of sacrilege.

★

All through the ages the Theologians of the Church have adjusted the principles of war to fit contemporary circumstances, and always with increasing strictness. Modern war, with its bombs and poison gas, calls for an examination by Catholics of the theology of war.

One of the conditions laid down by the theologians Suarez and Bellarmine for the war to be just, is the *Debitus modus*, i.e., the right way of conducting a war.

It has been defined in these terms: "The conduct of war must be confined within the limits of justice and love." Poison gas, the bombing and massacre of civilians, violate this principle, and the war is unjust.

The moral theologians have always condemned the killing of unarmed and innocent citizens. Even a conscript army comes under the heading of innocent citizens, as they have gone to war not of their own will, but at the bidding of the ruler of the State.

Francis de Victoria says: "We must be careful that war does not bring greater evils with it than it is to cure. If a decisive victory depends on the destruction of a fortress or garrison containing a number of innocent or defenceless people, it is not permissible to sacrifice them in order that a lesser number of the guilty should be punished. Let the tares grow with the wheat, lest in pulling up the tares the wheat is pulled up too."

★

The Popes, too, have been strong in their condemnation of war.

Pius IX said: "War must cease and be driven off the earth." Leo XIII said in his encyclical *Præclara*: "Youths are taken away from the care and teaching of their parents and cast into the dangers of barracks life. They are taken from the land, from their studies or their business for military service." A condemnation of conscription.

Benedict XV, whose heart was broken by the World War, called it a "terrible butchery," "a disgrace to Europe," "a horrible human slaughter," "anti-Christian slaughter."

Catholics would do well to keep in mind the word "slaughter," slaughter: is another name for murder, and murder is sin.

Benedict XV uses the word slaughter on two or three occasions—"Self-murder and madness" are his words at Christmas, 1916.

At the present time Cardinal Faulhaber has suggested that the theology of war should be made stricter to fit present day warfare.

The Catholic Archbishop of Cincinnati has called for an organization of conscientious non-combatants in his diocese. He has said, "War today never attains its ends."

To me as a Catholic, it seems clear that future wars would never be justifiable, and therefore it would be sinful to fight in one. I pray that the day will fast come when all Catholics will take this view, and thereby give speed to the elimination of war.

Clifford J. Shale

Ethel Mannin deals with This Atrocity Business

IN my last article I pointed out the inevitable influence of Jewish interests in the press and in Big Business behind the current dangerous spate of so-called anti-fascist propaganda which is in fact quite simply anti-Nazi, anti-German, propaganda for a capitalist-imperialist war to smash Hitler and Nazism.

The intensity of Jewish racial feeling in partnership with Jewish financial interests makes a formidable alliance; either alone is dangerous enough.

Neither Jewish nor Aryan capitalists are interested in any political régime ethically; they are concerned with it only inasmuch as it affects their vested interests; delete the anti-Semitism from the National-Socialist programme and the Jewish bourgeoisie and capitalists would be ardent Nazis themselves; eliminate the threat to British trade in German expansion and our interest in the preservation of democracy in Central Europe or anywhere else would disappear overnight.

Stirring Mass Emotion

Meanwhile, mass emotion is stirred by stories of Nazi brutality, floggings, concentration camps, Jews forced to scrub out lavatories (which is apparently only an "atrocity" when Jews are forced to do it) and the rest of it. But when questions are asked in the House of Commons about alleged atrocities committed against Arabs by British soldiers and Jewish supernumeraries the Colonial Secretary dismisses everything as a "a mass of falsehood."†

Now I am of those who do not easily accept atrocity stories, and must be given names and places and dates very specifically before I believe. I therefore discredit a very great many of the stories of alleged atrocities by the Nazis against the Jews which appear from time to time in the press; I discredit them as I discredited the atrocity stories of the last war—babies impaled on bayonets, children's hands cut off, Canadian soldiers crucified—as so much anti-German propaganda.

The *News-Chronicle* has from time to time produced some blood-curdling stories as "eye-witness" stories, and stories from "reliable authorities"—as though any newspaper would admit that its authorities were anything but reliable.

*A Jewish girl whom I helped to get out of Berlin not long ago actually said to my husband and myself, "We needed a dictator in Germany, but not Hitler."

†See *The Times*, June 29, the Colonial Secretary replying to John McGovern and James Maxton, the former having insinuated that a prominent member of the Arab Centre in London is a "Nazi agent."

DOLLARBEG, 1939

The Glasgow Region's Autumn Holiday Week-end School will be held as usual this year at Dollarbegg, from Saturday, 23rd September, until Monday, 25th September.

SPEAKERS: Saturday evening

W. H. Marwick. Social Policy for Pacifists.

Sunday morning

S. Farrar. Our Attack on Militarism.

Sunday evening

E. S. Towill (Rev.). (Not yet announced.)

There will be the usual opportunities for discussion.

Those intending to be present should send in their reservation fee of 5s. to Alex. Lang, 19 Thane Road, Glasgow, W.3, by Saturday, 26th August.

WORKERS' TOURS TO GERMANY

Get to know your neighbours, the German People!

Join a tour to the beautiful Rhineland, and see things there for yourself.

Visit factories, housing estates, labour camps and other national socialist institutions.

See the famous motorways and go by steamer up the Rhine with its lovely vineyards and castles.

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9 DAYS for £6/0/0

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Next tour leaves August 18th, apply for details to:—

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Whitehall 1531

in the second of her series of articles "Speaking Personally"

Ethel Mannin is the 28th contributor to our "Speaking Personally" series.

"Speaking Personally" is an open forum for the free expression of opinion on topics of current interest.

Previous contributors have included Arthur Wragg, Laurence Housman, Lord Sanderson, Vera Brittain, John Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Leonard Barnes, Richard Gregg, Rose Macaulay, Prof. G. E. G. Catlin and J. D. Beresford.

Next in the series will be Dr. R. H. Thouless, of Cambridge University, the well-known psychologist.

But to say that any Nazi atrocity story is an eye-witness story or from a reliable authority is quite sufficient for its general acceptance; on the other hand, produce factual evidence of the most abominable outrages committed against Arab villages in Palestine and against individual Arabs and one is promptly dubbed a disseminator of fascist propaganda.

The British public actually goes to the pictures and sees films of British troops blowing up Arab houses and remains unmoved; but if Jewish shopwindows are broken in Berlin there is a tremendous outcry throughout the democratic countries.

Is it any wonder that Hitler refers contemptuously to the hypocrisy of the democracies?

★

JAPANESE tortures and massacres of the Chinese, Mussolini's outrages in Abyssinia, Franco's in Spain against the anti-fascists, all such stories are accepted with heated indignation and without examination.

I am not for a moment suggesting that Hitler does not ill-treat the Jews, that the Japanese do not massacre their Chinese prisoners, that Mussolini's airmen did not machine-gun the refugees as they fled (though the objectives was probably lorry-loads of munitions) that Franco is not shooting prisoners in batches (but what of the communists and their shootings of the anarchists after the Barcelona rising?)

The point I want to make is that not merely the horrors of fascist militarism accepted without question, but any and every atrocity that the propagandist imagination can produce is so accepted, whereas, when it comes to a matter of the British in India and Africa and Palestine, cruelties and injustices become "a mass of falsehood."

Our Short Memories

We conveniently forget the Amritsar massacre and the crawling order, and we long ago forgot the shooting of Francis Sheehy Skeffington by order of a British officer, who was actually promoted after the outrage. So long ago did we forget it all that a quite well-known British socialist actually asked me the other day who was Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington.

For any British atrocity the British have short memories; though the Irish have not forgotten the Black and Tans, and those who survived now live to see the British conducting a campaign against the Nationalist Arabs by the same tactics.

Any alleged atrocity committed by an Arab against a Jew is a "fact"—because the Jews are working hand in hand with the British whereas the Arab is merely the wicked animal that defends itself when attacked; any atrocity committed by a Jewish supernumerary or a British soldier against an Arab is obscene and foul and a lie, even such evidence as a coroner's report proving that the body of an Arab prisoner shot whilst escaping was also horribly stabbed; the most easily checked-up story is swept aside when the atrocity brings discredit on our much-vaunted "democracy," whilst the most unsubstantiated story, the most obvious propaganda fabrication, is swallowed whole when it serves to bring discredit on a fascist régime.

Which, I can only reassert, is not to defend the crimes of the fascist States but

to suggest that it is high time honest people, or those who believe themselves to be honest, asked themselves: When is an atrocity not an atrocity? and faced the cynical fact that the answer is when it reflects discredit on ourselves, on our smug, self-righteous "democracy."

Inevitable Part of War

Brutalities are an inevitable part of every war, of every armed struggle; they are a part of the case against armed resistance and violence as a means of solving any problem; and not merely the inevitable brutalities but the inevitable atrocity stories circulated for propaganda purposes.

I do not believe every atrocity alleged against the British and Jews in Palestine, but I am disgusted by the way in which these claims are dismissed by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons, and by the fact that socialist members of Parliament fail to support the demand for a neutral inquiry into these alleged atrocities for which the Arab Centre in London is pressing, and has been pressing for some time. Those who deny the Arab contentions should welcome such an inquiry.

★

I AM very well aware that to take the Arab side in the Palestine struggle, to insist on the atrocities and the fascism within the British and French democracies—the British and French concentration camps, imprisonments without trial, the beatings of political prisoners in Indian jails, and so forth—and to declare that war is a greater disaster for humanity than German expansion, is to lay oneself open to the charge of being oneself a fascist and disseminating fascist propaganda.

As I said in my first article, the expressions "fascist" and "Nazi agent" are bandied about altogether too lightly nowadays—so insidious is the war-mongering propaganda masquerading as "anti-fascism."

It is the war-mongering behind all this propaganda of fascist crimes and fascist atrocities which makes it so dangerous; it is all calculated to work up mass-feeling to that pitch when one more "just" war is possible, and nothing is so effective a wind to fan the smouldering fire as a good strong blast of atrocity-mongering, with careful avoidance, of course, of any counter-blast from such far away places as Africa, India, Palestine, or any embarrassing reminder of Ireland.

Britain's "Defensive" Bombers

Britain's armaments, we are told, are only for defence—but

Lord Trenchard, opening a new airport, said:

"This country must be the terror of all aggressors." He was a firm believer that we must be strong with the attacking weapon and not place too much reliance on the defending weapon.

If we only relied on defensive measures for the defence of this country the enemy would always be choosing foggy days, dark days and bad weather in order to paralysing the life of the nation, but if we attacked the enemy's goal harder we could draw back some of their attackers in order to defend their goal.

We have sixty bombers for every 25 fighters, according to the *Daily Express*.

On to that 120,000 Circulation!

THERE is a question for active members of the Peace Pledge Union: Does every signatory of the Peace Pledge living in your district buy *Peace News* every week?

If every active member could answer "Yes" to that question we should have a circulation of more than 120,000.

One way of trying to attain it was shown by a Walton-on-Thames member recently. He sent us a list of local signatories and at his expense we sent them each a copy of *Peace News*.

This could be undertaken by groups or by individuals; to save postage it could be combined with a personal canvass of local signatories. Whatever the method adopted, on a large scale it would certainly gain many new readers for *Peace News*.

Meanwhile, until we can build up a larger circulation, *Peace News* needs financial help. That can be given through our Fighting Fund.

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year).

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

We are pleased to acknowledge the following contributions:—

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	121	1	10½
M. G. T., Runcorn	0	5	0
T. Bramley	0	2	0
"On Holiday," Edinburgh	0	7	6
F. J. Cole, Bristol, 5	0	10	0
R. M. Smith	0	1	0
"Enthusiasts"	0	7	6
Miss K. Higgs, Hove	2	0	0
Stamp, Guildford	0	3	0
W. G. Jarvis, Coventry	0	1	0
J. Smith, St. Margarets-on-Thames	0	2	6

£125 1 4½

"Bricks" Still for Sale

HAVE you sent your contribution to the "Brick Fund" yet?

Laurence Housman suggested at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, that every member should "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by paying 6d. for one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.

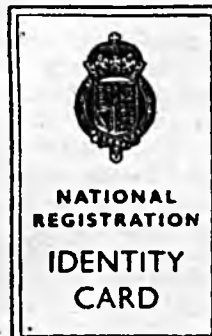
Up to Wednesday morning

13,296

bricks had been sponsored.

Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive any further contributions at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Register Cards Already Sent Out



THE revelation, in last week's "Peace News," that the Government has prepared Identity Cards as part of a scheme for compulsory registration, was confirmed by a Ministry of Health Official on Friday.

He said that the Registrar-General, Sir Silvanus Vivian, would make a statement on the subject about the middle of this month.

"He will announce details of the plan which his department has been working on for some while," reported the "Daily Express."

He will say that these plans are ready to be operated in case of a national emergency. National registration cards have already been sent to registrars all over the country."

We have pleasure in presenting a Serious Pacifist Humorist, FRANKIE DEE . . .

Making War Impossible

IT must be understood in the first place that the views represented here do not represent the views of *Peace News* or the PPU, nor for that matter of the DRAS, the NUC, the YCCC, the NCL, RU, or any other organization of which the writer is a present or lapsed member.

I am merely concerned to put forth a few of the views of one individual pacifist who feels the individual to be the most important part of the whole pacifist movement.

Some tell us that we cannot deal with war unless we know its cause and we now discover that war is caused by capitalism; or by imperialism (same thing spread out); or by currency manipulation or by lack of friendly contacts, or by eating meat, or by waving flags or by arms or by cruelty to animals in sport. Now all these things are serious in themselves, but would it not be just as sensible to say that war is caused by war—for are they not all parts of the war make-up?

We cannot really spend too much time concentrating on this, that or the other—ism or theory about war and evil and forgetting that the evils all arise from ourselves. We already spend far too much time running round in thoroughly illogical circles.

WE learn that it is no good stopping or trying to stop the killing of men if we go on killing animals. But the people who won't kill animals drink milk provided by the killing off of a calf, and wear shoes and drive cows off with sticks if they come too near on a country walk, and get very annoyed and unpacifist if you tell them these things.

We are told that if we end imperialism we shall end war (which is true), but we go on thriving at the expense of our brethren overseas who glory in their membership of the far-flung Empire on parts of which the sun never rises; and we let them be used to cut our wages and then manage on our low wages because our brothers overseas are producing cheap goods for us, and we believe it when we are told that to meet foreign competition our prices, and hence our wages, must be kept low.

Meanwhile the poor bankrupt Lancashire millowner reinvests his capital in India, and does not have to worry so much whether t'owd mill is working or not. To awaken the workers to the facts of the case leagues against imperialism advocate collective security of imperialists to prevent other nations from becoming imperialists—and so that problem is dealt with.

IN any case all that is so much waste of time, for we are told in another place that if we manipulate currency we can remove poverty from the world, make capitalism non-profitable without reducing profits, and so do away with vested interests, unemployment, and war.

A man I know added some splendid five-pound notes to the currency and solved his own personal unemployment problem—he is now in his fourth year in the weaving shed at one of our leading prisons. Had he done the job on a large enough scale, of course, he would probably by now have had a seat in the House of Lords (usually called "another place" to distinguish it from gaol).

FLAG-WAVING is a much more serious business.

The waverers of the Union Jack want Hitler to help us to keep the Red Flag out but they do not want him to interfere with the Union Jack so they want Russia to help to keep out the Swastika.

As the Red Flag waverers also intend to bear it onward till they fall (come dungeon dark or gallows grim) in co-operation with the Union Jackasses in defence of Democracy behind the Hated Fascist Chamberlain Government, against whom they will work to the death but for which they will

be conscripted, the flag business seems to have got altogether too involved for anyone to sort it out.

THERE remains, however, the question of friendly contact, preferably by means of an international language to make understanding easier.

Far be it from me to carry my comments too far—I am all in favour of friendly contacts, but I live in the North and I know that we can throw cellar grates at people we have been talking to in their own language an hour before, and drinking with half-an-hour before.

We can fight because our rivals support a different set of paid footballers who, if offered sufficient inducement, would play for our side next week without the slightest compunction; we will readily slosh the man, a free citizen in a free country, who does not praise the King and flag or who says something rude about the wife we have ourselves been abusing a minute before; and we just love to wallop Lancashire at Old Trafford (they are a poor lot, anyhow); and as for Londoners and such foreigners from the south, they cannot take a licking and they think they know everything.

And so we could go on.

We think the upper class snobs and we'd love to trip them up, and they think we are people who keep coals in our baths and pigs under the table.

So we have a long way to go at home to establish understanding, let alone looking abroad for it to solve our troubles for us.

AND as for our treatment of animals and our hunting and fishing and shooting, I can only quote the one and only "Yaffle" of the good old days and ask "What would you do if a Grouse attacked your mother?"

So we still do not get any nearer to peace. That is because in the above commentary we are dealing with quite irrelevant things in a quite irreverent manner.

War is really, finally and absolutely (and probably "definitely") only a matter of psychology.

If you have an inferiority complex you would welcome war because that gives you vision and a chance of glory and power and strength but if you are a pacifist it shows that you are afraid of life and fear to be overcome in war; you prefer the ideal of peace and tranquillity and a level life which does not show you up—in fact, you have an inferiority complex!

It is all so simple.

ACTUALLY we are just wasting our time arguing about causes and there is only one thing to do and that is to be prepared.

In our town they have opened a "Be Prepared" shop with a splendid display of gas masks, tin hats, &c., all painted different colours so that you decide on your colour scheme before deciding whether to be a special constable or an air raid warden. You are not shown the whistle, rattle and handbell with which you will be able to play when on duty in an "emergency" (see Public Information Leaflet No. 1).

On the window outside there is a notice "Dyeing in many colours" but I discovered

"WHAT would you do if a grouse attacked your mother?"

This is one of the human problems squarely faced in this article by Frankie Dee.

Other topics which are treated by his versatile pen include Vegetarianism, Imperialism, Flag-waving and Friendly Contacts.

He concludes with a simple resolution on war.

on close examination that this was the next shop owned by a firm of cleaners and dyers. It might just as well have been on the A.R.P. shop and the conjunction is not fortunate.

BEING prepared also involves knowing how to put out fires, and the officials who prepared the now famous "Public Information Leaflet No. 1" made the astounding and revolutionary scientific discovery that "Most large fires start as small ones."

Only a higher grade Civil Servant could have thought of that and explained it so lucidly to the common herd, and if we can only learn to put out all the small fires there will not be any big fires in the next war.

But I intend to apply the moral of that discovery at an earlier stage. Finding causes of war may be interesting and necessary but none of them can lead to war if the men and women refuse to fight, and so perhaps we can still make our own equally revolutionary scientific discovery, akin to that of the Civil Defence people.

I seem to think that all large wars start with someone firing the first gun. I am making it my job to refuse to fire that first gun.

Peace Through Negotiation continued from p. 1

some form of federal association which would conserve all that is valuable in nationality and yet cancel out the danger of rival nationalisms.

But argument is not an appropriate weapon in dealing with irrational prejudice; and perhaps what is needed just now more than anything else is to turn the laughter of sensible people against it.

"Arrant Imbecility"

Charles Dickens knew how to kill established evils by poking fun at them. Think of Bumble who typified the old Poor Law; what a pompous and ineffective ass he was. But he flourished only so long as people took him at his own valuation, and he promptly succumbed when Dickens directed the shafts of good-humoured mirth against him in *Oliver Twist*.

If only some genius would do the same for diplomats and foreign secretaries today! We would soon find that the "war of nerves" had ended in a universal shout of laughter.

Someone once defined a diplomat as "a patriot who sees his country through the many troubles which would not occur if there were no diplomats"; and if only we brought a sense of humour to the world's present troubles, we should soon recognize current diplomacy for the arrant imbecility that it really is.

Lewis Carroll, in his picture of Looking-glass land, hit off the inanities which govern "foreign affairs" when he drew his immortal picture of the two heroes girded for the fray:

*Tweedledum and Tweedledee
Agreed to have a battle;
For Tweedledum said Tweedledee
Had spoilt his nice new rattle.*

The rattle may be labelled "national honour" or "imperial interests" or "the rule of law" or even "world peace"; but to "agree to have a battle" about any of these issues does not restore the spoilt rattle; it only spills innocent blood.

Then why not laugh when statesmen put their hands upon their hearts and solemnly repeat this high-sounding nonsense?

We have a case in point at the moment in the question of Danzig. Colonel Beck, the Foreign Minister of Poland, has declared that the German claim to an admittedly German city is "inadmissible," and that this is Poland's "last word" on the subject; there must be no "infringement of Polish sovereignty," for her "vital interests" are involved in maintaining the *status quo* in Danzig—and so on, and so on.

In other words, a transfer of Danzig to the Reich would spoil Poland's "nice new rattle."

The German attitude is, of course, equally stiff and stupid; Hitler is "determined" to incorporate Danzig in the greater Germany, and this is an "inalienable right."

Both parties to the dispute presume to be judges in their own cause, and rather than engage in amicable discussion and negotiate a reasonable settlement, millions of boys the world over are to be set at one another's throats. The whole business is not only infinitely wicked but supremely idiotic.

In civil life, both parties to the dispute would be locked up as dangerous lunatics. Then why do people tolerate lunatics-at-large in the wider context of international affairs? If the ordinary citizen, here and elsewhere, would only treat this farcical madness as a subject for mirth, these Poo-Bahs of high politics would soon cease to be a power for ill and they would be laughed off the international stage for good and all.

Statesmen Must Negotiate

The idea that the pitting of armed might against armed might is the only way—or, indeed, that it is any way at all—in which to deal with international disputes is so ludicrous as to be purely comic, were it not so charged with potential tragedy for the human race.

Charles Lamb's mythical Chinaman who burnt down his house to roast a pig was a monument of sanity compared with the worldly-wise statesmen who today are prepared to wreck a whole civilization for the

sake of achieving their short-sighted political aims.

For man is endowed with intelligence and reason precisely in order that he may solve his problems by other and better methods than those of beasts in a jungle. Call it conference or negotiation or discussion or what we will, this is the means by which human problems ought to be met; and, therefore, whatever the merits of the disputes which now mobilize Europe into rival camps, we have a right to insist—in the name of everything that is sane and sacred—that statesmanship should cease to emulate the ridiculous tactics of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and should forthwith initiate the negotiations by which alone a satisfactory settlement can be achieved.

An Anthology of Peace and War Arranged by Vincent Long

Karl Von Clausewitz

WAR is nothing but the continuation of policy by other means.

Robert Burns

YE hypocrites! Are these your pranks?
To murder men an' give God thanks?
Desist for shame! Proceed no further!
God won't accept your thanks for murder!

Aldous Huxley

PEOPLE must be taught to think hatred at least as discreditable as they now think lust; to find the more raucous manifestations of collective vanity as vulgar, low and ludicrous as those of individual vanity....

Gustav Stresemann

If you could have made me one concession I could have won this generation of Germans for peace, for real peace. That you either could not, or would not, has been my tragedy and your crime.

How one Pacifist would Address the Electors: John Hoyland's Program

Means Test, Old Age Pensions, Unemployment, Nationalization, Conscription, World Peace Conference, Refugees, Are His Main Concern

BELOW we give the sort of imaginary election address John Hoyland would issue were he contesting a constituency. His programme must not, of course, be regarded as being necessarily endorsed by the Peace Pledge Union or by *Peace News*.

AS a Christian socialist I believe in the collective ownership of the means of production, and in the effective central planning and control of our economic system, in the interests not of private profit or class interest, but of the community as a whole.

For a number of years I have been engaged, during vacations from my educational work, in taking teams of students and others to the coal areas of our country, and especially to South Wales, in order to help disabled unemployed men in land work. In the course of this work I have lived as a guest in scores of unemployed homes; and I have thus enjoyed exceptional opportunities of learning what unemployment really means.

★

I believe that the first necessity is the abolition of the **Means Test**.

Next, an increase in **Old Age Pensions**. And, more fundamentally, the provision by the State of **public works** on a scale sufficient to absorb the great body of the unemployed, as was done (and successfully paid for) by Sweden.

I believe also that the State should become owner and controller of the **coal mines**. Nationalization of the mines would cost less than half the annual sum which we are now spending upon rearmament.

★

As a Christian pacifist I am fundamentally opposed to **conscription**.

My objection is based first on religious grounds: but I also hold that the measure has been introduced in an unjustifiable manner, and that it is the precursor of what is intended to be a rapid advance towards industrial conscription (this is indeed provided for in the Military Service Act under the title of Alternative Service), towards fascism, and towards the military and therefore pagan State.

It is in my opinion vitally important that this tendency should be combated now, before it has gathered way, by a united and determined resistance of the workers (who always stand to suffer most under militarism) against conscription, in the name of religion, of British liberties, and of working-class rights. Fascism is not an individual dictator but a spirit and a method of action embodying that spirit, which are already at work in our midst in this Act.

European experience has shown within the last few years how swiftly conscription is followed by industrial slavery, under which, for example, old men and women are ruthlessly compelled to work terribly long hours for terribly small pay at tasks which are judged to be of national importance.

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OLD WORCESTER PORCELAIN
A SPECIALITY

As one who took part in Quaker relief work for the starving populations of Central Europe in 1919, I am convinced that the root of our modern international troubles is the Versailles Treaty, and the manner in which it was made.

I believe that we shall never have peace till an **international conference** is called for the revision of that treaty, not by unilateral and forcible action, but by consent.

Such a conference should have the task also of arranging **universal disarmament**, and the more **equitable distribution of raw materials and economic resources**.

★

I am also strongly of the opinion that the place of the League of Nations should be now taken by a **Federation of democratic nations**, with a federal Parliament democratically elected controlling a pooled system of defence, economics, communications, and colonies. All tariffs should be abolished within the Federation, and all colonies and armed forces pooled.

Domestic politics should be left in the hands of the federating States. All States accepting a democratic system of government and a Bill of Individual Rights should be welcomed into the new Federation; but a beginning should be made at once with such as will join now.

★

I also urge the much more generous treatment of **refugees** by the British Government, both as regards admission and support. We have been officially informed that the presence of these refugees brings employment to many thousands of English people.

THE OATH SOLDIERS TAKE

*I*N response to requests from readers who have pledged themselves to renounce war, we print below the oath of those who join up for war service:

Regular Army and Supplementary Reserve

I.....swear by Almighty God, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, His Heirs, and Successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, in Person, Crown, and Dignity against all enemies and will observe and obey all orders of His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and of the Generals and Officers set over me.

Territorial Army

I.....swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, His Heirs, and Successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, in Person, Crown, and Dignity against all enemies, according to the conditions of my service.

★

Militiamen are deemed to be enlisted under the Act in the same way as were those men who were enlisted under the Military Service Acts in the Great War, and therefore are not required to take the military oath.

MORE TRIBUNALS MEET THIS WEEK

MORE tribunals to hear applications from conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act have been meeting this week.

Details of their sessions and of future sessions, so far as they are known, are given below:

SOUTH-WESTERN. Met in Bristol on Wednesday and Thursday, and concludes today.

SOUTH WALES.—Met in Cardiff on Wednesday and Thursday. Meets again in Council Chamber, City Hall, Cardiff, on August 21; in Guildhall, Swansea, on August 24; and in Shire Hall, Carmarthen, on August 31 and September 1. (Sittings commence at 10.45 a.m.)

NORTH-EASTERN.—Not expected to sit before the last week in September or first week in October. Will meet in Leeds County Court, Albion Place, Leeds.

NORTH-WESTERN. Not expected to sit before September.

LONDON. Will meet on September 18 in West London County Court, 43, North End Road, Fulham.

Reports of the South-Western and South Wales tribunals will appear in *Peace News* next week.

(See page 4—a Barrister on the working of the first tribunal; also "A Catholic CO Looks at War" and names of Tribunal members).

MINERS OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION

OPPPOSITION to the Military Training Act was expressed in a resolution tabled at the quarterly meeting of the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association in Newcastle.

Put forward by the Executive Committee, it declared "uncompromising opposition to any form of military or industrial conscription," and asked the Trades Union Congress to organize a national campaign for the repeal of the Act.

"Compulsory Religion" for Conscripts?

The fact that conscription means that "freedom of opinion on religious matters is, for a period at least, virtually denied to the conscientious non-believer" was pointed out in *The Christian World*.

Recruits are required to state, on enlistment, their religious denomination. Those with no religious association are registered as "Church of England."

The *Christian World* points out that this might be justified in the case of voluntary enlistment, when recruits might be assumed to know the regulation. Under conscription, however, it becomes objectionable.

COs IN CAMP

Eight Nottingham conscientious objectors have spent a week-end under canvas with three or four members of the Nottingham Advisory Bureau.

This was part of an organized scheme to bring the CO's into fellowship with each other, rambles, games and sing-songs being a valuable part of the week-end. On the serious side, two helpful discussion-sessions took place, in the one the theme being pacifist propaganda methods, and in the second, the religious aspects of pacifism.

The camp site was on the farm of a member of the Society of Friends, and was organized by members of the Advisory Bureau.

N.C.L. Branch in Newcastle

A branch of the No Conscription League has been formed in Newcastle-on-Tyne and Gateshead. The secretary is Mr. A. Morley, Rosslyn, Highfield Road, Westerhope, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Swedish Women Urged to Back C.O.s

A recent circular letter issued in Sweden (reports *The War Resister*) not only urges young men to refuse to respond to calling up notices for the army, but calls upon women to refuse to become their substitutes in carrying on the work at home.

Rcd. with Thanks, One Body

THE Government has prepared a special form headed "Death Due to War Operations." It is a detailed and edifying document. It includes spaces for the description of each air-raid casualty and of the cause of death.

No medical details are required—only a general statement as to whether the cause of death was shell-splinter, falling masonry, fire or gas. Later on, there is a kind of receipt which is to be signed by the relation taking the body away for burial.

In cases where the body is not claimed, or where it is unrecognizable, the official in charge of the mortuary can assign the body to a common burial pit by signing another part of the form.

Bishops Condemned For Backing War Preparations

"I WOULD far rather see Archbishops say frankly that Christianity is Utopian and cannot seriously be maintained as a practicable ethic than see them trimming their pulpits to the winds of political expediency and invoking Satan to cast out Satan.

"That is precisely and demonstrably what they have been doing in the past twelve months."

So said Canon C. E. Raven, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and a member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, in a speech at Cromer.

Each and all of our Bishops, he continued, had denounced the totalitarian State as Caesar-worship and blasphemy.

Helping Recruiting

"Yet today, when our own nation is being mobilized on a totalitarian basis for a war as an instrument of national policy, we see our fathers-in-God falling in obediently behind the recruiting officers and repeating without a blush the slogans and militarisms of 1914. The attitude of the Church in 1914-18 outraged the consciences and alienated the sympathies of very many. "If God is love, then the way of the bombing aeroplane is utterly and absolutely inconsistent with our faith."

Paid A.R.P. Rate Twice—as a Protest

AS a protest against paying that portion of his rates devoted to ARP, a Leigh-on-Sea pacifist has sent the chairman of Southend Town Council an equivalent amount, additional to that demanded, "to be used for some work of a peaceful nature."

He suggests that the sum in question (1s. 6d.) should go "towards the provision of milk for the undernourished children of Southend during the school holidays."

The pacifist is Mr. C. H. Cox, secretary of the local branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A.R.P.—"Greatest Delusion"

In his letter to the chairman of the Town Council he calls ARP the "greatest delusion of the age," and adds:

"The Christian and common-sense way indicate that the only ARP is air raid prevention, that instead of encircling the 'have not' nations Britain acts in a Christian way."

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RONALD BATHGATE,
Rookscombe, nr. Wells, Somerset.

A German View

I HAVE the pleasure to get your *Peace News* regularly from an English friend. I have to say that I like it very much, though also there are some articles I cannot agree with. But there is a lot I like very much.

As I see, your readers like to tell you their opinions and have a share in your newspaper. Thus I beg to ask a question of all your readers, with a request that they answer the question either directly to my address or to you, so that you can publish some of the best answers.

The reason for my question is this: I have seen a lot of articles in which your readers charge Germany with being the reason for the next war, and as I and, I do not say too much, all Germans do not like and do not want a war, I must ask this question especially to those who have written thus.

My question is: Why should Germany be the reason for the next war? Is not it England and France?

My reasons for saying this are the following: shortly after 1919 Germany was without soldiers and arms, and England and France had promised also to disarm. Had they disarmed at that time, today not one of the European Powers would be armed to the teeth. But, through not disarming, they have forced Germany also to rearm, for why should England and France have arms, &c., and Germany not? Further, was it not enough to take our colonies and arms, must they take also our money, our people and goods?

That was the other reason for Germany's rearmament. If we had not rearmed, England and France would today still take from Germany, as "war reparations," what she produces.

Please judge from this point of view and then write to me. I should appreciate very much a number of letters from English pacifists.

RUDOLF GRIESHAMMER.

Glösaer Str. 202,
Chemnitz-Furth,
Germany.

Poland's Claim to Danzig

I would like to draw your attention to certain features of the Danzig situation which are apt to be overlooked. We are inclined to consider only the city of Danzig, without its surrounding territory or the province of Pomorze.

The town has for long been at least 75 percent German in population, and this percentage is higher now on account of the boycotting activities in recent years by members of the Nazi Party, causing many Poles to quit the city. But the "Free City" contains within its political administration many square miles of farming land where the peasantry is principally Polish.

Furthermore, the whole Polish province of Pomorze lies between Germany proper and Danzig, giving Poland its access to the sea along the coastline by Gdynia. This province is by language 969,000 Poles, 105,000 Germans, 6,000 others, or only about 10 percent German.

It cannot be maintained therefore, as German propaganda would have us believe, that by uniting Germany with East Prussia and Danzig, the Reich would be incorporating a purely German area. In fact, the term Polish Corridor is a misnomer, as this is predominantly Polish territory. Rather the present attempts are trying to set up a "German Corridor."

It was once implied in your columns that it is only the jurists who can prove that this area should belong to Poland. But if we observe it closely, we shall rather need the jurists to find out whether Germany has any claim whatever—apart from her claim to the actual city of Danzig.

Poland as a nation has been moulded round the Vistula Basin. This provides her natural boundaries, just as the sea is the limit of Great Britain. As the Vistula flows to the Baltic Sea, so Poland looks to the river's mouth at Danzig. The whole reviving prosperity of Poland will be retarded if a political (which usually leads to an economic) barrier is put across the mouth of the Vistula. History has shown that this area has prospered when there was free use of this natural trade route.

Polish trade figures demonstrate the importance of the outlet: in 1937, 82 percent of all her imports passed through Danzig and Gdynia, and 62 per cent of all her exports.

How the natural flow was prevented by the political boundaries before 1914 is shown by these figures of the total trade in tons passing up and down the river through these two ports:

1913	..	982,000
1936	..	8,215,000
1937	..	9,664,000

I agree, Sir, with the spirit of your editorial comments that if Poland were to use force in the retention of this territory, it would still not settle the moral issue of its rightful ownership. But I believe that an impartial consideration of the facts would find that Poland's claims are very sound.

RALPH CROPPER.

19, Marguerite Park,
Belfast.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive. Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

Wanted: A Gesture to the "Have-Nots"

THE article by Sir George Paish (*Peace News*, July 28) urging a peace lead from the United States, Great Britain and France, very valuably reinforces the appeal for a declaration of British peace aims which emerged from the recent National Peace Congress and which was given prominent publicity in *Peace News*.

It is obviously difficult to secure a very considerable popular movement in support of this policy in the next few weeks with the holiday period ahead, but it is essential that at the earliest possible moment the movement for a constructive policy along these lines, which was first mobilized by the National Petition, should be galvanized into fresh life, and focussed once again through some nation-wide activity upon the Government.

The form which this campaign should take may be influenced by the possibilities of a General Election in the autumn and, of course, by developments in the international situation. But the National Peace Council will be meeting to discuss these questions early in September, and will hope to have the renewed cooperation of the thirty or forty organizations, including the Peace Pledge Union, which assisted the Petition campaign.

In the meantime, individuals can help by securing the maximum publicity for the Peace Congress appeal which, as *Peace News* has already announced, is now available in leaflet form.

Nearly 10,000 copies have been circulated already by the larger national bodies, including the Peace Pledge Union and several of the more important Trade Unions and cooperative organizations, but individual readers of *Peace News* can help

by securing some reference to the appeal in their local papers, if it has not already been made, and by distributing the leaflet as widely as possible, whether in their home districts or on holiday.

Copies of the leaflet can be obtained either from the National Peace Council or from the Peace Pledge Union at 1s. 6d. per 100 copies, 10s. per 1,000 copies, post free.

GERALD BAILEY,
Directing Secretary,
National Peace Council.

39 Victoria Street,
London, S.W.1.

Economic Bankruptcy

On page 12 of the July 28 issue of *Peace News* the statement occurs, "Unless there is soon a halt called in all preparations for it, war or not, bankruptcy will ensue."

I am not quite clear who is the author of these sentiments, but it is well to realize that there is only one kind of true economic bankruptcy—exhaustion of raw materials. As long as the supply of these remains ample—and even with the amount squandered on war preparations it does remain ample—financial bankruptcy is unnecessary and optional, and dependent on the intelligence of governments in managing their monetary systems.

TAVISTOCK.

Labour Party and Socialism

Your correspondent, David Oulagi (*Peace News*, 28/7/39) flames up in fiery support of Socialism and recalls the efforts of George Lansbury and Donald Soper to support his view, but he makes no discrimination between pure Socialism—the Brotherhood of Man—and the impure, or should I say the adulterated Socialism of the Labour Party.

Both of the sponsors mentioned undoubtedly advocated the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man, since it is one of the vital facts of the Christian Faith. I am quite sure, however, that neither advocated supporting the Labour Party as such.

My local MP, a Labour man, has so far departed from the essentials of pure Socialism as to throw all his considerable weight into a recruiting campaign for the Territorial Army.

One can be, indeed one is, a Socialist if one is a follower of Jesus Christ; but being a Socialist does not necessarily imply membership of the Labour Party.

It is essential that we should make this discrimination.

JOHN T. KNIGHTS.

50, Merton Road,
Wandsworth, S.W.18.

A Reply to a Non-Pacifist

Mr. Rimmer (*Peace News*, July 28) differentiates between a "moral" argument and a "practical" one. To me one must be the other. Anything done in God's way in God's world is practical and moral, and anything done against God's way is bound to fail.

It may stand for a time like a pole on the end of a nose, but it will always threaten and cause trouble till it falls. (Militarism and imperialism are both poles on noses.)

So my "practical" answer assumes no conditions except God's, and they are inevitable. Number one is that pacifists must be prepared to accept responsibility for the consequences of their beliefs and actions.

Number two condition is inevitable because effective resistance must first have been offered to British coercion, and any invader would meet this augmented by millions who previously supported violence.

I cannot agree with Mr. Rimmer's contention that in answering arguments we should assume that all non-pacifists say might be true. They have gained their support by saying war is inevitable to stop Hitler, and assuming that is true their case is unanswerable, for it would be God's way in God's world.

W. SPARKS.

Hollingswood,
Disley,
near Stockport.

"War-mongering Propaganda"

MAY I ask you to grant space for a vigorous protest against the conclusions in the last "Speaking Personally" article of Miss Ethel Mannin?

I am in agreement with the condemnation of war-mongering propaganda and of all kinds of articles which may give rise to a feeling of hate against nations, classes, or races. But how is one to understand the contradiction in Miss Mannin's article for, writing about "Jews' responsibility," she made the following attack:

"The racial feeling of the Jew is such that... a blind spot makes him prepared to plunge the world into mass-slaughter."

I seem to hear the voice of Dr. Goebbels!

The presumable consequence of such a statement can only be the hypothesis that Jewry is looking for revenge for racial persecution in Germany. I have never yet heard this opinion in English pacifist organizations, but very often in speeches of Nazi leaders who are, it seems to me, not preparing peace.

It would certainly be better for a criticism of "war-mongering propaganda" to eliminate all "anti"-statements, because anti-Semitic biases instead of constructive thoughts destroy the platform of righteousness.

AUSTRIAN PACIFIST.

Protest

As a member of the PPU and reader of your paper I would like to make a criticism and ask a question.

Under the heading "Durban Pacifists Cause a Stir" (*Peace News*, July 28) there is reported the woeful fact that in answer to the argument against pacifism "But I will be shot if I don't fight," a pacifist remarked that one would probably be shot if one did join up. This sort of answer will not inspire nor convert anyone.

Now the question: Do they shoot conscientious objectors in South Africa?

This column struck me as being unworthy of inclusion in our paper.

Yours.

H. G. RIX.

39, Parkside Drive,
Watford, Herts.

[The phrase to which Mr. Rix objects appeared in a report of pacifist activity in Durban. The remark was obviously made on the spur of the moment. No-one can say what would happen to objectors in South Africa, or elsewhere in war-time.—Ed.]

P.P.U. and Policy

With reference to the correspondence in *Peace News* under the above heading, the undersigned members of the Hackney Group have written to Mr. Priest signifying general agreement with his letter, and would like to give our views as to why we feel a positive peace policy is needed.

The PPU as a movement can logically make no authoritative statement on behalf of its members in a crisis, or in fact at any time, as it is simply a Union of people who have signed the Peace Pledge, the interpretation and implications of which must necessarily be determined by the individual.

This fact appears to have only been realized during the last year or so, as we find Gerald Heard writing in *What are you going to do about it?* No. 2, "It is clear that the movement cannot be founded on a mere protest against war," and Aldous Huxley saying in the *Encyclopaedia*: "It is recognized that it is not sufficient merely to say 'No' to war. Pacifism must have a constructive policy, and there is a moral obligation on the Union to work out such a positive programme."

In times such as these when we all appear to be living on the edge of a precipice, we do feel that there should be a united body of people saying definitely what must be done to deal with an immediate situation and not just saying what must not be done.

J. PARRY,
E. B. DAVIES,
B. BLOOM,
L. WHEELER,
I. RANDALL.

297, Evelyn Court,
Amhurst Road,
Hackney, E.8.

Rangers and National Service

As a Ranger I should like to add a few words on the subject of "Scouts and National Service." Quite a few Rangers are doing National Service work, but to me true Scouting or Guiding and National Service do not go together.

Are we not sisters and brothers to the Rangers and Scouts of other lands? Why should we be asked to prepare to kill them?

There are plenty of ways of serving one's country without doing it by preparing for war.

I hope I am not alone, and I would be very pleased if any Ranger sharing my views on National Service would write to me. Mutual encouragement plays a great part in helping on our work for Peace.

OLIVE ROGERS.

124, Dudley Road,
Whalley Range,
Manchester, 16.

Pacifist Journalists

It has occurred to me that it would be a good thing if some means of intercommunication could be established between journalists who are pacifists and I would be glad to hear from journalist-members of the PPU who would welcome such a scheme.

KENNETH S. WOODROOFE.

32 Parkstone Road, Birkenhead.

The Rev. P. D. Robins, St George's, Leeds, says:

The Church is Failing Today as it Did 25 Years Ago

WHEN, some years ago, I ventured to suggest at a meeting of parsons that one of the causes of the estrangement of the people from the church was the failure of the church during the War, I was met with indignant denials and strong denunciation. I was told of crowded churches during those years, and of the manifold ministrations which the church performed.

I confess that I am unrepentant.

There can be no question that the church failed and failed badly. The very fulness of the churches was the measure of their abandonment of the cause of the Prince of peace, and the manifold ministrations were at best relief work for those who were making war, and at worst a definite endeavour to sustain the morale of the troops by harnessing God and religion to a national cause.

The church, on the whole, acquiesced in the strife, and while yet teaching men to pray "Our Father" dared not rise to the height of leading them on from this to say "My brothers" to those against whom we were fighting. The God of love became a God of war—forgiveness was forgotten and revenge filled the hearts and minds of men. The failure was about as complete as it could possibly have been.

Repeating Its Error

IT seems almost unbelievable that now, twenty-five years after the outbreak of the last war, the church should be making the same tragic mistake again.

I am not writing this as a criticism but as an appeal to all who call themselves Christians to face the failure of the past and to learn its lesson.

It is easy, of course, to see that we defied the law of Christ in that we failed to love our enemies as he commanded us—but I do not know that to say that will carry us very far—for the plain fact is that most Christians found it absolutely impossible to love their enemies, and presumably in similar circumstances would find it impossible again.

But why? Why could we not love the Germans during the last war—why do we find it impossible to love our enemies? As I look back and recall the feelings and sentiments of those years I think I can answer that question.

We could not love them because to us they were not human, they were not real. They seemed to us to be simply the embodiment of evil which must be destroyed at all costs.

It was, of course, a lie and a vile lie, but all war lives on lies. It paints false pictures of crude beasts and fastens them upon those whom it would have us slay, and sends us out to kill.

When, after four years of bloodshed, some of us arrived in Germany, it was to discover that we had been destroying brothers. The devilry of war is that it dehumanizes humanity; it portrays the enemy as less than human, and makes us inhuman in our attempts to destroy him. We cease to think in terms of humanity and think instead in terms of the lurid pictures which have been painted for us, which have no reality beyond hate-inspired imagination.

Worst Thing in War

THE truth that is confronting us all at this time, if we have but eyes to see, is that if ever again Europe makes war we shall die like beasts for no other reason than that we are beasts.

The most awful thing that can happen in any new war is not anything that anyone else is going to do to you, but the moral and spiritual degradation that you must accept before you will be willing to do the things which war demands that you shall do to other people. You cannot make war and remain human—much less Christian.

Nor am I referring only to those who take part in the fighting—war degrades the whole nation, and perhaps most of all those who are far removed from the conflict.

If you think that sounds exaggerated remember how we behaved during the last war.

We picked up our morning paper and we read "The enemy's losses were enormous" and we were glad.

Do you think we were human then?

WHEN, some years ago, I ventured to suggest at a meeting of parsons that one of the causes of the estrangement of the people from the church was the failure of the church during the War, I was met with indignant denials and strong denunciation. . . .

I confess that I am unrepentant.

There can be no question that the church failed and failed badly. . . .

The church, on the whole, acquiesced in the strife, and while yet teaching men to pray "Our Father" dared not rise to the height of leading them on from this to say "My brothers" to those against whom we were fighting. The God of love became a God of war—forgiveness was forgotten and revenge filled the hearts and minds of men. The failure was about as complete as it could possibly have been.

It seems almost unbelievable that now, twenty-five years after the outbreak of the last war, the church should be making the same tragic mistake again.

Think what we were being glad about. We were being glad that mere lads of seventeen were hanging broken on the wire—that the wounded were dying in agony between the lines and could not be brought in—that men were being shattered in mind and body—that mothers were watching with breaking hearts for sons who never came home—that children were being made fatherless—and that lonely women are even now dragging through long weary years dreaming pictures in the fire of what might have been if someone had returned.

Do you think we were human then?

What It Really Meant

AGAIN we read "The blockade is bringing the enemy to his knees" and we were glad.

Have we ever dared to allow ourselves to picture what we were glad about then?

We were glad that queues of hungry men and women were waiting in vain for food and dropping dead in the streets—and that babies were clinging to their mothers' breasts crying for food that was not there, and dying.

A little German woman said to me some years ago, "I lost three baby girls during the War—I could not feed them." Picture that one woman clutching one baby after another to her dry breasts and watching them die—while we were being glad about it.

God knows it is awful enough that such things should have happened during the

War; I do not think there has ever been a worse atrocity in the story of the human race than the starvation of the whole of Central Europe.

But the prolongation of the blockade for long months after the War until the Treaty was signed, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, was an appalling sin of which we are reaping the fruits now. In one maternity hospital in Austria, out of a hundred babies who were born in two months, ninety-eight died from lack of milk.

It is because war means this and always means this that I have done with it—I do not believe you can do such things in the name of Christ.

★

I refuse to think any longer of "the Germans" or "the Italians" or "the Nazis." I have learnt my lesson and from now till I die I shall think only of the children of God, and I urge you to do the same.

Who are "the Germans"? The gentle mother bearing her child at the peril of her own life—the father with eager pride in his boy, watching him grow to strong manhood—the babies with their tiny hands tearing at our heart-strings and making us feel unworthy of so great a gift—the children playing in the streets and gardens, loving the sunshine and the flowers and trees—the lovers walking in the quiet lanes and telling the same story all the world over—the young married couple building their first home in the wonder of a new-found love—the old people spending the evening of their lives looking back with fond memories and looking forward with a trembling hope.

In Terms of Humanity

These are "the Germans" or "the Italians" or any other nation. These are the people who are called to destroy us. Think what it would mean to them!

The tragic parting between mother and son—the awful emptiness of the home from which the boy has gone never to return; the lovers' agonized farewell; the empty years for those who are left. Think of the wrecked homes, the broken lives, the wounds of mind and heart and body which only death can heal, and all these simple, lovable folk choked to death by gas, burnt to death by fire, blown to pieces, pierced, butchered, tortured and mutilated.

Surely it is the essential genius of the Christian faith that it thinks always in terms of men, women and children and their sufferings—that it thinks always in terms of humanity.

Seeing the other nations of the world in this light can you—dare you—make war upon them?

In the name of God, is there not enough sorrow and suffering which is common to the whole human race without our adding to it by such insanity?

The Balance of Power

By Adrian Ross

You take some States, not less than three,
We'll call them A and B and C;
Not Russia, France or Germany,
But each a simple letter;
Supposing A should buy a gun,
Then B must purchase more than one,
And C, who will not be outdone,
Must go a cannon better.

Now A, if not entirely mad,
Another gun or so will add,
As many as the others add,
Until he overtops them;
And B and C will purchase more,
Exactly as they did before,
And heap up implements of war,
Till lack of money stops them.

And this is the Balance of Power,
Humanity's loveliest flower;
If we were not afraid
Of the guns we have made,
We should all be at war in an hour!
The war-clouds may threaten and lower,
But never will burst in a shower,
For we haven't the cash
To do anything rash,
Upsetting the Balance of Power.

Now B, on some convenient day,
Will make a secret league with A,
In which they practically say,
They'll go for C together.
The secret, being one of State,
Is certain to evaporate,
And C may soon anticipate
Extremely sultry weather.

Then C his neighbours will fatigue
With patriotic, base intrigue
Until he makes a secret league
With each of both the others.
So any two to fight are loath
Because the third is bound by oath,
To fight against and for them both,
As enemies and brothers!

And this is the Balance of Power,
Diplomacy's climax and flower;
If we did not surmise
We were all telling lies,
We should all be at war in an hour,
The war-clouds may threaten and lower,
But never will burst in a shower,
For you cannot depend
On a foe or a friend,
When it comes to the Balance of Power.
—"Peace Action."

* These verses were first sung forty years ago in a comic opera.

Who Said This . . .

THE only conclusion we can come to is this: Hon. Members hope that by giving a large number of pledges they will never be called upon to fulfil any of them. I cannot imagine anything more dangerous than the giving of a large number of pledges in the vague hope that their very multitude will prevent anyone ever calling upon you to carry them out.

Vague pledges of this sort given here and there are bad, and are more likely to cause confusion, which in itself causes war. I think we should refuse to bind ourselves and tie our hands in directions where we cannot see what the future may hold for us. I do not believe we can maintain peace in Europe now by handing out a hotchpotch of pledges.

★

Who d'you think said that? We'll give you three guesses! No! No! No—it was Anthony Eden—on November 24, 1927.

250,000 Women Sign Petition for World Conference

A QUARTER of a million women have already signed the Women's Peace Petition which opened on April 27. The petitioners declare:

"We, the women of many lands, believing that war and violence can bring neither peace nor happiness to the nations, hereby call for a world conference of the peoples of the world, where any disagreements, injustices or misunderstandings amongst nations from whatever cause arising, may be examined and settled by reason and methods of justice in the spirit of good will and of any necessary self-sacrifice on the part of some nations, so that universal disarmament and a lasting world peace may be secured."

It is under the auspices of the British Women's Total Abstinence Union, in co-operation with the women of many of the countries federated to the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Petition forms to take 20 signatures can be obtained from the Hon. Director, Peace Petition, 104 Gower Street, London, W.C.1. The petition may be signed at that address any weekday between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. (Saturdays 12.30 p.m.).

Closing date is September 30.

National Peace Council's Annual Report

The annual report of the National Peace Council for 1938-39, which has just been issued, records as the main item of the Council's work, the National Petition "for a new Peace Conference" to which over one million signatures were secured. New affiliations to the Council in the last twelve months have included the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, the Railway Clerks Association and Federal Union.

Copies of the report are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Congress Report

Señor de Madariaga's brilliant address on "The Future of World Order," delivered to the recent National Peace Congress is reproduced in the Report of the Congress issued in a double number of Peace, the National Peace Council's monthly paper.

Other contributors to the Report are Clarence Streit and Dr. C. E. M. Joad on "A Federal Union?"; Professor N. F. Hall and Sir John Harris on economic and colonial policy in relation to Peace; Lord Marley, Professor Norman Bentwich and Miss Aline Mackinnon on "The Refugee Problem"; the Rev. Henry Carter, Fenner Brockway and Ronald Kidd on "The Military Training Act."

Copies of the report can be obtained for 6d. post free from the National Peace Council, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Simplified English for Foreigners

Lord Ponsonby is to act as chairman of a Committee of the Economic Advisory Council, appointed by the Prime Minister, to examine methods of teaching simplified English to persons who do not speak our language.

The Basque Children LETTERS FROM SPAIN

By Theo Wills

"Bilbao, 26.7.39.

"1st Year of the Victory!"
"Dear Friends,—Thanks very much for your support to us, when we were in Langham. We have had a very nice days in England. We shall have never forget to our foster parents, friends and the PPU. I am sorry because I have not written to you before. We have find to our family in a very good health. My family is very gratefully to you for the support that you have had with us.—With love from Asuncion and Manuel Leceta.
"Kind regards from our family."

THIS is a letter as received in English from two of our repatriated children, ages 13 and 14. Note the political inscription, "1st Year of the Victory!" which they put in to keep on the right side of the powers that be, for all letters are still opened by the censor. Let us read it as Basque House's first year of victory in sending the children back alive to their parents.

Another letter in English to an adoptive parent:

"Dear Sir,—I'm Mary Carmen's father. I'm very pleased to greet you sincerely am to express my best thanks for your kind attentions to her during her staying in your noble and hospitable country.

"The previous letter she writes you has some faults you will excuse. You will find in it the expression of her initial or little knowledge of your language, but which is an estimable merit.
"If you, in a future time, is able to come here, we shall be very honoured with you visit, when, I assure you, will be our best guest at our home. You may rely upon my friendship and sincerity, as well as on my wife's ones.—Yours faithfully, A. Marcos."

Translation of a passage from our own Vicente (16):—

"I, and I think all of us, felt our departure very much, for although I made an effort not to let my tears escape, I felt a big pain in my heart which, on the day of our journey, increased every moment we were further away from my unforgettable Langham, to which my thoughts return almost every moment of the day."

Another child speaks of "my dear England," and even goes so far as to say that she does not like Spain any longer!

These are the repatriates. We still have the remnant of Basque House to care for in England.

This series is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

The NOTICE BOARD

Items must be received by Monday.

MEETINGS

Hounslow group now meets every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Tub Tree Café, Staines Road, Hounslow, instead of in Beacon Café, as previously.

Ilford.—Open-air meetings held every Saturday at 8.30 p.m. at corner of Wellesley Road and Cranbrook Road (near Ilford LNER station).

Finsbury Park.—Open-air meetings in the Park on Sundays at 11.30 a.m.

Cardiff.—Open-air meeting in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff, every Sunday at 8 p.m. Group meetings every Tuesday evening at 43 Charles Street.

"PEACE NEWS" SELLERS WANTED.
Orpington.—Every Saturday two members sell in Orpington High Street. Volunteers wanted. Write W. G. Howard, 11 Willett Close, Petts Wood, Kent.

Mass Selling, Charing Cross Station, Friday, August 18, 5-8 p.m. Volunteers meet at car with poster in Craven Street, Strand.

ADVICE FOR CO.s
CO.s in Cardiff and district summoned to attend Cardiff Tribunal should communicate immediately with secretary of advisory committee, 43 Charles Street.

Letchworth.—Sellers wanted, Friday evenings, Saturday mornings, afternoons and evenings. Particulars from Miss Joan Edwards, 56 Norton Road.

Sidecup.—Tomorrow (Saturday), 6 p.m. Meet Black Horse, High Street; open-air meeting. West Kent Publicity Van Unit.

POSTER PARADES

Oldham.—Sunday, August 20, preceding open-air meeting (see Diary). Meet Dick Sheppard Centre, 13a Manchester Street, 7 p.m. Volunteers urgently wanted for Peace News selling, leaflet distribution, etc.

MISCELLANEOUS

Edinburgh change of address.—From September 1 Edinburgh office will be 37 Chambers Street. Meetings will be held there every Thursday, 8 p.m.

Ramble over Machen Mountain.—Sunday, August 13. Meet Llanishen Station, 11 a.m. Bring lunch.

What the Groups Are Doing

A GROUP of PPU members has been formed of those who have decided to make greater efforts in their pacifist propaganda and who have agreed to the following conditions of membership.

The Group is to be known as "Immediate Peace Activity":—

- (1) Non-payment of Income-tax and local Rates devoted to war preparation.
- (2) Opposition to Conscription.
- (3) Opposition to National Register.
- (4) Refusal to co-operate in ARP measures.
- (5) Study and application of non-violent resistance.
- (6) Seek method of arousing public responsibility in the present situation.
- (7) Propaganda for Disarmament and a World Peace Conference.
- (8) Minimum of 8 hours service to the Group weekly.

Members of the Group will be meeting at 158, Queens Road, Peckham, on Sunday, August 13th, at 6.30 p.m., to make arrangements for their activities.

The provisional Secretary of the Group is John Priest, of 13 Duke's Avenue, Chiswick, W.4, who will send membership forms to PPU members on request.

More Dick Sheppard Centres Opened

TWO more Dick Sheppard Centres are now open—at Birmingham and Oldham.

Laurence Housman opened that at Birmingham a fortnight ago. Like the London headquarters, it is named Dick Sheppard House; its address is 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham, 1.

At the opening ceremony Mr. Housman spoke of Dick Sheppard's work and spirit. "I am sure that if those 126,000 members had the spirit of Dick Sheppard we should storm the world," he said. "We fall short of him and we know it, but the more we can work and think and live and behave like him the nearer we shall be to bringing to pass the desire of his heart, for which he lived and died."

Mr. Housman spoke on "Prayer and Prejudice" in Birmingham Parish Church on Sunday evening.

Oldham's "Dick Sheppard Centre" is now ready to receive visitors, and will be open every evening, including Sundays, from 7.30 till 10, with an additional session on Saturday afternoons from 2.30 to 5.

PPU members passing through the town should call in; they will be made very welcome. A rota of wardens has been prepared, so that someone will always be present.

Furniture is still needed, however, and if anyone has a small office table with drawers, or a bureau bookcase to give, the group will be pleased to pay the carriage to Oldham.

Already a speakers' training class has begun to meet every Thursday, and Peace News is sold every Friday evening in High Street.

Among projected plans are a mass-selling of the Hand Book and an open-air meeting before the Alexandra Park Gates.

Wakefield Weekend School

WAKEFIELD group will hold a weekend school at the Strines Guest House, High Flatts, near Huddersfield, on Saturday and Sunday, September 23 and 24.

The lecturer will be R. H. Ward; his subject, "Pacifism in Private and Community Life."

Fee for the weekend is 9s. 6d. All intending to be present should apply as soon as possible to Frank Dawtry, Larksfield, Crown View, near Wakefield, sending a deposit of 2s. 6d. as booking fee. Accommodation is limited.

Lively Meeting at Bexley Heath

BASIL PAINTING addressed a lively meeting at the Clock Tower, Bexleyheath, recently.

A large crowd assembled and remained for three hours. Questions and interjections were numerous, but the majority were anxious to hear the case for pacifism, which was well put over.

As at previous meetings, many groups of people remained for discussions with PPU members.

Fifteen copies of Peace News were sold, together with a number of Peace Service Handbooks.

Bristol Group Meets Labour Candidate

A DEPUTATION of constituents of the Thornbury Division organized by the Staple Hill and Downend Group (Bristol) of the Peace Pledge Union, met Alderman J. H. Alpass, the

Prospective Labour Candidate on Monday evening.

The object of the meeting was to ascertain the views of Alderman Alpass on the National Peace Petition.

Alderman Alpass expressed unqualified agreement with the Petition, and particularly with what contribution this country was prepared to make. He thought it was in accord with declared Labour Party policy, both foreign and colonial, and declared we should get back to support of the League of Nations and the rule of law as opposed to force.

On a question he expressed himself opposed to conscription, and said that he would support the Petition policy in any election.

The general impression was that a considerable agreement existed between Alderman Alpass and the deputation which, however, persisted in its view that no satisfactory solution can be achieved by the use or the threat of force.

Publicity for Hull Peace Centre

A sympathetic article, about a column in length, was devoted to the Hull Peace Centre in a recent issue of The Announcer, which has a guaranteed house-to-house circulation in Beverley and district.

New Bromley Scheme

LAST week the Bromley (Kent) group of the Peace Pledge Union started its new sub-section scheme. The system is, in a way, similar to the regional system adopted by the movement as a whole, but on a smaller scale.

The group recently elected Mr. John Getgood of 114, Oxhawth Crescent, Bromley, as organizer for the Bromley group. Miss Ranyarde, the late group leader, unfortunately had to resign the position owing to unforeseen and unavoidable work in other directions. She is, however, arranging a series of open air meetings which are held in Ethelbert Road.

Mr. Getgood, together with an executive committee have worked up a scheme whereby the group is split up into small sub-sections of the main group, each sub-section being under the leadership of a group member who in turn is in constant touch with the group organizers.

It is hoped that by this means it will be possible to carry out more extensive propaganda and house-to-house canvassing of the Peace Service Handbook, together with leaflets and poster displays. Since the scheme was launched the group has distributed twelve dozen copies of the handbook and has received an order from the Bromley Women's Guild for 100 copies which they hope to distribute to their members and friends.

Any member who feels that he would like to take charge of a sub-section or would like further details of the new scheme should get in touch with Mr. Getgood as soon as possible.

West Kent Publicity Van

THE programme of the West Kent Region's publicity van carried out so far includes demonstrations, open-air meetings, carnival processions, and a pioneering trip round West Kent villages.

Tomorrow (Saturday) it will be at the Sidcup mass selling of Peace News and open-air meeting. It is always available for hire by groups outside the region.

Wythenshawe Group in Local Pageant

WYTHENSHAW (Manchester) group entered a local Rose Queen Pageant run by the Residents' Association.

AT THE HARROGATE CONFERENCE

THEY WEREN'T DOWN-HEARTED, DESPITE THE RAIN.—Members of the Peace Pledge Union at the annual Conference at Pannal Ash College, Harrogate. The Conference ended on Monday—see report on page 11.

Copies of this photograph may be obtained at the following prices: postcard size, 6d. each; same size as this photograph, 2s.; larger sizes from 3s. each. Orders to John Barclay, at PPU Headquarters, or to E. Taylor, Photographer, The Studio, 62 Micklegate Hill, York.

Next London Group Leaders' Meeting

will be held on
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

at the King's Weigh House,
Thomas Street, W.1.

Will groups which have any items for the agenda please write to: Muriel C. Boldero, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, not later than August 21.

The entry took the form of three banners, one poster, and a small tableau with the figure of Peace and two attendants, Prosperity and Plenty.

The crowds gave the entry quite a good reception. The only hostile remarks were: "You ought to be in prison," and the doubtful assurance that "You'll soon get a 'square deal.'"

One of the attendants of Peace carried a loaf of bread, signifying Plenty; the remark was heard, "That's what we need—Peace and Bread."

The group painted their own posters and banners, thus reducing the cost to a few shillings.

Anyone who would like a full description of the entry, with instructions as to the making of the banners, etc., should write to Maurice French, Group Leader, 15 Elmfield Avenue, Northenden, Manchester.

Hull Peace Shop "Blackout" Display

IN view of the black-out on Wednesday, the Hull Peace Shop has had a special window display.

One window was completely blacked out, apart from a narrow strip to look through; the whole of the interior was in black crepe. A centre poster bore the words "August 9, 1939: Black-out for War—and Death." Accompanying this were war relics and pictures—and a skull.

The other window was decorated in the PPU colours. The centre poster bore the words: "Today—light up for peace and life." This was well supported by a display of flowers, pictures of the countryside and industry, and four pointers of peace—Health, Prosperity, Progress and Love.

The whole was surmounted by the challenge, "The choice is yours—Which will you choose?"

The first open-air meeting held at Easington by the Youth Group of the Hull branch was marked by the throwing of eggs by a man in Territorial uniform and hostility from a small section of the crowd.

The incident became magnified, however, in the local newspaper to imaginary proportions. The eggs were labelled as "stale"—which they were not!—a non-existent banner was alleged to have been torn down, and the "platform" (a chair) was mistakenly reported to have been "stormed." The press report was by a correspondent who is also an ARP Warden and a volunteer in the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

The meeting actually ran its full course, and afterwards pacifists talked in groups with members of the public for nearly another hour.

Pacifists Appear in "Picture Post"

Four pages of pictures of the Mock Tribunals for conscientious objectors which have been held in London appear in the current issue of Picture Post.

The article should help to make the initials of the Peace Pledge Union known throughout the country, for it features the PPU badge.



[Photo by O. Gresson, York.]

Dates for Your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "Individualism or a disciplined Movement?" an inter-member discussion; PPU.
BERMONDSEY: 8 p.m. Corner of Beatrice Road and Southwark Road, S.E.16; open-air meeting; J. H. Slack and Basil Painting; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. Katharine Street; open-air meeting; Kenneth Lee; PPU.
SWANAGE: 8 p.m. Town end of Promenade; open-air meeting; T. Rendall Davies; PPU.

Sunday, August 13

GUISELEY: 3 p.m. White Cross; Publicity Van; Miss I. Westerdale and Denis Riley; PPU.
OTLEY: 7.30 p.m. Market Place; Publicity Van; Miss I. Westerdale and Denis Riley; PPU.

Monday, August 14

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; members' meeting, followed by open meeting at 8.15 p.m.; PPU.

Tuesday, August 15

LONDON, E.C.4: 12.10-1 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; lunch-hour meeting; L. C. Montague, on "Moving the Masses"; City PPU Group.
TOWER HILL: 12.30-2 p.m. Open-air meeting; Charles Haworth and Kay Jones; City PPU Group.

Wednesday, August 16

PECKHAM: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, Rye Lane; group meeting, to be addressed by Federal Union speaker; questions and discussion; PPU.

Thursday, August 17

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10-2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; lunch-hour meeting; J. Ewart Purves, FRCS, on "While we wish for peace we work for war"; City PPU Group.

LONDON, E.C.4: 6-8 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; H. C. Oakley, on "Pacifism and the Teacher"; City PPU Group.
BETHNAL GREEN: 8 p.m. Victoria Park Square; Basil Painting (chairman, Charles H. Haworth); PPU.

Friday, August 18

SKIPTON: 7 p.m. High Street; Publicity Van; Miss I. Westerdale and Rev. W. H. Walker; PPU.
YEADON: 9.15 p.m. Albert Square; Publicity Van; Miss I. Westerdale and Denis Riley; PPU.

Saturday, August 19

CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. Katharine Street; open-air meeting; Gordon Turner; PPU.

Sunday, August 20

OLDHAM: 8 p.m. Alexandra Park Gates; open-air meeting; PPU.

Sun. to Sun., August 20 to 27

SOUTHPORT: Convention of Religions; particulars from Convention Secretaries, "Saxenholme," Albert Road, Birkdale, Southport, Lancs.

How to Arrange a Meeting

The experience of the past two or three years in holding pacifist meetings has been summarized in a booklet just published under the title *The Organization of Peace Pledge Union Meetings*.

In it Roy Walker, Secretary for Speakers at PPU Headquarters, gives advice regarding the various types of meetings groups wish to organize.

Meetings are treated throughout as a means to the end of propagating pacifism so, besides notes on the preliminaries, there is also advice on making new contacts and following-up, and surveying areas.

Groups and speakers are also asked to co-operate in the scheme of applying through Headquarters for any speaker of national importance, and for all speakers who are not members of the group or resident in the district covered by the group making the application.

Copies of the booklet may be obtained, price 3d., from the PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Six New P.P.U. Leaflets

Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Lord Ponsonby, and Lord Tavistock are among the writers whose words appear on the latest leaflets issued by the Peace Pledge Union.

The quotation from G.B.S. deals with "The seamy side of soldiering"; Bertrand Russell's explanation of "How non-violent resistance could prevent invasion" (recently reprinted in *Peace News*), though first published during the War, is still topical; and a speech by Lord Ponsonby in the House of Lords on the dangers of military alliances is also apt, as is a reprint from John Bull of Lord Tavistock's plea, "Let's be constructive about peace."

The other two leaflets are: a plea to "Every woman," setting out plainly what war costs us—and what might be done instead; and a special "Blackout" leaflet.

The leaflets are obtainable from the PPU, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, price 6d. per 100 (postage 3d.); 4s. per 1,000, postage 10d.

Rain Did Not "Wash Out" P.P.U. Conference

THE "summer" conference of the Peace Pledge Union was an outstanding success—not because the conditions under which it was held at Pannal Ash College, Harrogate, were ideal, but in spite of their too many shortcomings. Those attending refused to let the rain damp their spirits.

The lectures were consistently good. Following those already reported in *Peace News*, Canon Charles Raven lectured on Tuesday of last week on the next step for pacifists to propose as a practical policy. He suggested, in the first place, that merely to oppose war was not enough, as its effectiveness was lessened if there was no practical policy to put in its place.

Policies which had once seemed practical were the adoption of the machinery, first of the League of Nations, and then of a world conference. Both, he thought, must now be discarded as impractical. The only practical policy left, in his view, was to support the idea of a federal union of such States as could be persuaded to transfer their sovereignty over certain matters to an international Government.

While many acknowledged the ideal of a Federal Union, there seemed to be little support for the view that it was the next practical step for pacifists to advocate.

Danger of Fascism

Wilfred Wellock gave an admirable analysis of the political situation, on the Wednesday. He pointed out that until 1930 Britain would not have tolerated any threat to her imperial position, such as she was now tolerating—particularly in the Mediterranean and the Far East. The reason for the change was that the Government had made the sudden discovery that the maintenance of the present system of society and the avoidance of communism was more important than imperialism. Nor did the Danzig situation indicate a change back to the former policy; for the Government would take the opportunity of the Parliamentary recess to persuade Poland to be "more accommodating."

Germany was aiming at Britain's friendship and a joint domination of Europe, which would mean that the two countries could disarm. But when that happened there would be an economic crisis, which would have to be met in this country by a totalitarian regime in order to deal with discontent. The present atmosphere of hysteria had already enabled the Government to build up the machinery of a fascist State.

The Pacifist's Task

On the Thursday Stuart Morris outlined the work of the PPU in the recent past, the present, and the immediate future, and subsequently gave the conference the opportunity to comment on it. In the evening Bishop Theodore Ludlow, of New Jersey, USA, spoke of conditions in his country.

One of the most useful discussions of the conference followed Andrew Stewart's talk on Friday. The tasks of the pacifist, he said, were: first to make absolutely impossible, for this

country at least, the war for which everybody was preparing; then to remove those tensions that made for war.

The chief difficulties, he thought, were apathy and the shortness of the public's memory. They had the advantages, however, of the general desire for peace, the statesmen's fear of the Frankenstein monster of war, and an unanswerable pacifist case. They should therefore "sow, teach, and spread" their idea by every form of propaganda, and keep abreast of the news.

It would be impossible to do justice in a report to Henri Roser's stirring and inspiring address on Saturday, and, in fact, a special request was made that it should be printed in pamphlet form. He described how, last September, the statesmen had met the Czech crisis by non-resistance. But he pointed out that to meet evil with evil or to meet it with non-resistance in either case permitted evil. The only pacifist way was to meet it with constructive good. A truth had no meaning if it did not lead to action.

Dr. Alex Wood dealt with the Christian approach to pacifism on Sunday, and stated the position very clearly and simply. The significant thing about Christ's method, he said, was that the initiative, following the infliction of an injury, rested with the injured party. That method was a revelation of God's way with the world, and the spreading of the pacifist way was not so much something the pacifist had to do as something God had already begun.

One evening was devoted to the showing of instruction films by Miss Mary Field, of Gaumont British Instructional, and to the discussion of films as a method of propaganda. Other evenings were devoted to discussions, entertainments, and a poster parade in Harrogate. An open-air meeting was also held, and the weather cleared up just in time to allow cricket and swimming sports on Monday.

"News Chronicle" Editor Explains Why Letter Was Not Published

MR. GERALD BARRY, Editor of the *News Chronicle*, has sent the following letter to Mr. Gerald Bailey, Director Secretary of the National Peace Council, concerning a letter from him which the *News Chronicle* failed to publish (and was therefore published in *Peace News* a fortnight ago):

"Dear Gerald Bailey,—I am shocked to read a report in *Peace News* (July 28) that a letter of yours had been 'suppressed' from the *News Chronicle*. 'Suppressed' is not the right word, but my point in writing is to assure you that I had no knowledge of this letter's existence. It was not brought to my attention when it came, and by some mistake was marked 'No' for publication.

"I think it should have been published, and I should have authorized its publication had I seen it.

"It is plainly too late to give it now, but I hope you will accept this explanation, and I shall be glad if you will let *Peace News* know that there was no question of its suppression as a matter of policy. I should like that fact to be published if possible—Yours sincerely, Gerald Barry."

Jews and Arabs "Get Together"

A League for Jewish-Arab Unity has been established in Palestine, composed of members of various political groups within the General Confederation of Labour. It is in close contact with groups of Arab workers and peasants.

It is hoped to hold a joint conference soon, to further the cause of solidarity between Jews and Arabs.

Those Who Live in Palestine

At the end of March there were estimated to be 1,113,000 Arabs and 422,000 Jews in Palestine.

In 1919 there were approximately 635,000 Arabs and 58,000 Jews.

These figures were given by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Colonial Secretary, in Parliament last week.

FORTY U.S. MINISTERS MEET BRITISH PACIFISTS

Forty-one American Methodist Ministers who have been attending the World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam were expected to meet prominent British pacifists on Wednesday.

They were spending four days in Britain on their way back to America.

A message was sent to the conference by the Dutch pacifist society, *Kerk en Vrede*, (Church and Peace).

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PERSONAL

BECOME A NON-SMOKER!—If P.P.U. Members became non-smokers and donated a fraction only of the money saved, a Fund of over £50,000 would be available each month to win every constituency for peace—and this with considerable personal gain, in money and health! Become a non-smoker!—Wainley Non-Smoking Course, 87 Taggart Avenue, Liverpool, 16.

GERMAN TEACHER (refugee) wishes to share unfurnished flat (Highgate district) with other lady worker. Rent 15s. weekly each.—Write: Miss Eisner, c/o 92 Lausanne Rd., N.8.

SITUATIONS

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30,000 MEN ARE NOW DERANGED BY THE WAR

AT least 30,000 men are now in mental hospitals or are suffering from nervous disorders as a result of their service during the Great War.

This was revealed in an appeal issued by Admiral of the Fleet Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt on Friday—25th anniversary of Britain's entry into the War.

Last year, no fewer than 1,875 applicants were medically examined by the specialists of the Ex-Services Welfare Society.

"That this number is nearly 400 more than in the previous year," wrote Sir Reginald, "shows how deeply into the complex system of the human mind the poison of war—a war that ceased a generation ago can penetrate."

Pacifist Labour Candidate at By-Election

Though Labour Party headquarters allowed Frank R. Hancock, a well-known pacifist, to stand as official Labour candidate at the recent by-election at Monmouth, they insisted on the following passages being inserted in his election address:

"The disastrous foreign policy of the Government bears a heavy responsibility for this grim and tragic change. The League of Nations has been discredited. The Disarmament Conference has been wrecked. Aggression has been condoned first in Asia, then in Africa, and now in Europe.

"A spirit of violence on the one hand, and moral weakness and disloyalty to pledges on the other hand, have brought Europe to a stage where the peace of the world is precariously balanced, and our own security is gravely imperilled . . ."

"Labour gives the lead for peace. Its policy is two-fold:—Labour rejects the rule of force and methods of violence. Aggression must be warned off or warded off. To this end the Labour Party stands for a common Front of all peaceful nations pledged to mutual defence against a peace-breaker . . ."

"I fully support the successful efforts made by Labour in Parliament to improve the conditions of the boys called up for service. But while ready to conscript our youth, the Government will not conscript wealth . . ."

Australian Register Boycott Broken

The boycott of the compulsory National Register by the trade unions in Australia has been largely broken following the discussions between trade union leaders and the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies.

Militant members of the movement in Melbourne have declared, however, that the boycott will be continued in Melbourne irrespective of the attitude taken by trade unions in other States.

"BAN WAR" APPEAL TO POPE

Special to "Peace News"

"In name of Christian pacifists of the world beg you to consider possibility of a universal Christian ban against war. If you lead millions of Protestants as well as Catholics will follow. Writing."

THIS cable has been sent to the Pope from Canada by the Rev. Albert D. Belden, who left Whitefield's Central Mission, London, some months ago, to lecture in the USA and Canada.

It was sent immediately after the announcement that the Pope had gone into retreat to produce his first Encyclical, with special reference to peace.

Enthusiasm in America

"Time is of great importance, so I had to risk being accused of presumption in so acting," Mr. Belden told *Peace News*.

"This universal Christian ban on war and war preparations has been my theme with dozens of large audiences in the United States and Canada. Four times I have been able to put it over the radio, and it is rousing great interest and enthusiasm."

Pacifist Civil Servants Excused ARP Drill

THOUGH private employers have dismissed workers for refusing to take part in ARP drill, it seems that in the Civil Service conscientious objections to war preparations will be respected.

It is understood that two pacifists employed in a department of the Post Office were exempted from taking part in a drill last week.

Written application to be excused had to be made beforehand.

"The Link" and All That

(continued from page 1.)

There seems to me to be quite insoluble incompatibility here.

THERE also seems to me to be an intolerable dilemma. How can we, for example, recognize the virtues of the German people and try to satisfy their genuine needs and grievances, and at the same time not appear to condone the inhumanities and injustices committed by the Nazi Government in their name?

Rose Macaulay, in *Peace News* recently, gave expression to this dilemma. "What is the pacifist to feel or do?" she asked. "What attitude is possible that shall be neither callous, bellicose nor silly? Or rather, that shall be as little of all three as is humanly possible in a callous, bellicose and silly world?"

How are we to end Fascism as a social disease and not lend ourselves, as Ethel Mannin cautioned in *Peace News* last week, to the anti-German hate propaganda "with which politicians from the Right down to the so-called Left, in unholy alliance with the popular Press, beat the drums of war once more"?

I SUGGEST, by keeping our own minds clear on the fundamentals of our faith, by resolutely testifying to them in our work and in our lives however we may be misrepresented, and by realizing that it might well be easier in the days that are ahead to detect and avoid the wrong road to peace rather than perceive the right one.

The renunciation of war that we make in our pledge follows, I think, from perception of the wrong road. We turn our backs accordingly, on that road, however alluring the signposts inviting us to take it.

It may be that we are at cross-roads, and that two of the remaining three will equally have to be eliminated. Well, let us study each one as we come to it. Let us think out the next step, as Lord Ponsonby has expressed it; and having found our way at last, let us not be dismayed if it seems to be uphill, rocky, obscure and seemingly interminable. For though we may fall by the wayside it will at least be with the comfort that we have followed in the footsteps of martyrs, and led the way for others more worthy than ourselves.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 165 11.8.39

Two notice-boards displayed outside a house in London Road, Leigh.

They illustrate the "muddleheadedness" to which Andrew Stewart refers in his article, which begins on the front page and ends here.

Some of the posters shown together are:

2. "P.P.U.—What It Is."
3. "Mosley Speaks at Earl's Court."
4. "The Link—What It Does."
7. Press cutting of a letter protesting against Jewish refugees obtaining employment (signed "Anglican Vicar").
8. "Let Mosley Broadcast"—petition letter to BBC.
9. Pro-Nazi news cutting.
10. Press notice of Fascist rally.
11. Fascist leaflet: "American Jews Threaten World War." Picture of Hitler.
12. Picture of Hitler.

Elsewhere were posted a PPU pamphlet on Conscription and the PPU poster, "War's New Target."

The enthusiast whose affiliations seem to be so mutually contradictory is invited to reply to Andrew Stewart's criticism.

Is Press Hushing Up Conscripts' Grievances?

From a Correspondent

PRESS accounts of army life, likening it to that of one big happy family on holiday, received a severe blow when conscripts' grievances were brought to a head last week and were ventilated in Parliament.

Even now, however, there are grounds for wondering if all the truth has been told.

I understand that at one militia camp alone, there has been one attempted suicide and four attempts at desertion. The former is, perhaps, hardly remarkable among such a large number of men.

Cases Not Reported

But the attempts at desertions are a different matter. Indeed, it would seem that the press has either been missing news or has been strangely reticent. For these cases do not appear to have been reported in the national press. How, then, do we know they have not their parallel in other camps?

I also learn that at the camp in question, before the scandalous conditions became widely known, conscripts were advised not to let the outside world know of their circumstances.

The *New Leader* reported last week that at the Yeovil camp there had been "a miniature mutiny. Two dozen lads refused to eat the rubbish that was set out for them and they refused to go on parade."

Reassuring the Public

The national press, which played such a large part in making the idea of conscription palatable to the public, proved only too willing last week to assure its readers that the English summer was really to blame for most of the trouble in the camps. This followed a press conference held at the War Office.

While the case against war does not depend upon whether soldiers are comfortable or otherwise, the fact remains that the press is anxious to minimize the seriousness of trouble in militia camps, just as in the past it has helped to damp down objections to war itself by painting it in false colours.

International Rally in Youth Hostel

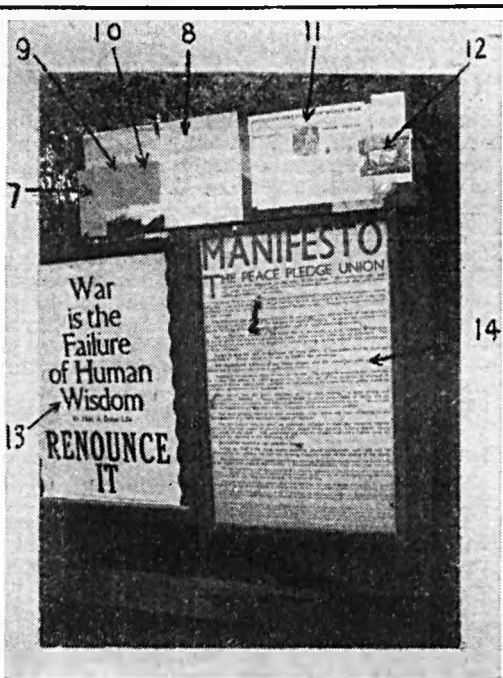
An international rally will be held at the Jevington Youth Hostel, Sussex, during the weekend October 7 to 8.

The hostel itself is situated on a slope of the Sussex Downs near Polegate, and the surrounding country is considered to be amongst the finest in Sussex. Transport by car from London is being arranged.

There will be talks by various speakers and visitors from other countries, with general discussion on international questions and community singing.

On the Sunday there will be a short inter-denominational service and a ramble over the Downs to the Coast.

Further particulars from Mr. S. W. Fullerton, 5, Selsdon Road, West Norwood, S.E.27.



"Peace News" in Canada and Palestine

THE Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem and Carnegie Library, Ottawa, recently agreed to display *Peace News*. They are among the 422 libraries which now do this every week. Other additions since the last list we published are: Halfway Library (Llanelli), the Cossington Street branch of Leicester Libraries, Llangollen, and Penrith.

A reader suggests that members of the Peace Pledge Union should get in touch with the librarian of their old school and offer to provide *Peace News* for the school library.

"This would ensure that the rising generations have our point of view put before them," he writes.

DEAN INGE ON HITLER'S OBJECTIVE

Writing in the current issue of the *Church of England Newspaper*, Dr. W. R. Inge says of the present crisis:

"We ought to admit that there has been a great deal of provocative language on our side, that we have been too ready to attribute to German intrigue every rebelliousness in our Empire, from India to Palestine, and even to the Irish criminals. . . Versailles had to be revised, with or without war. Hitler is trying to do it without war. He cannot be allowed to have everything his own way; but are we going to fight about Danzig, a thoroughly German town, which never ought to have been separated from the Reich?"

A GERM WE MUST CATCH!

By the Plain Man

A CORRESPONDENT has taken me to task for suggesting that yellow fever is caused by a germ!

You may remember that I wrote recently, of a Japanese scientist who died among the swamps of the Gold Coast. He was fighting the yellow fever scourge and before he died "he isolated the germ responsible for the disease."

At least that's what, in my innocence, I believed.

It is obvious, of course, that whether he was right or wrong in seeking a germ, didn't affect my argument. My point was that he lost his own life while carrying on research which he thought would save others.

BUT my correspondent has seized on this point to send me some literature about germs and diseases. There are conflicting theories on the subject—but they are not my concern here.

The disease we plain men must fight is the foul disease of WAR. And about that disease, too, there are any number of theories.

They can be divided into two broad classes: those who put it down to wrong systems, and those who put it down to individual shortcomings.

In the first group you get those who say "Capitalism is the cause; administer a dose of socialism." Among the second group we find so many more sub-divisions that I sometimes despair.

There are those, who would have us give up this or that, or want us to join this or that church (or not to join it!); or they say our diet is wrong; and so on.

They may be right. But again, I'm not going to be drawn into an argument on these questions.

THE writer of a book recently reviewed in this paper likened himself to a corpuscle in a poisoned bloodstream.

In a way that's what we are. But on the other hand, each one of us has more say in the matter than has a corpuscle in the bloodstream.

As a nation we are getting ready for war. It only needs sufficient "corpuscles" to make up their minds that we're doing the wrong thing, and we can stop all that.

What's more, each individual "corpuscle" has the power to make up its mind, and to act, if it wants to. It need not wait for the whole of the bloodstream to flow the other way.

And as for the germ—well, I do know this: whatever may be the case with vaccination and inoculation, you certainly won't cure the disease of war by giving the world a big injection of the disease itself.

The only cure is for each corpuscle to catch the germ of peace; and to give it to as many others as he can!

Are you doing your bit to help the epidemic along?

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